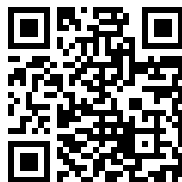

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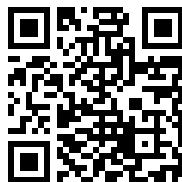
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ISLANDICA, Vol. XVII

TWO CARTOGRAPHERS

GUÐBRANDUR THORLÁKSSON

AND

THÓRÐUR THORLÁKSSON

BY

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON

WITH 11 PLATES

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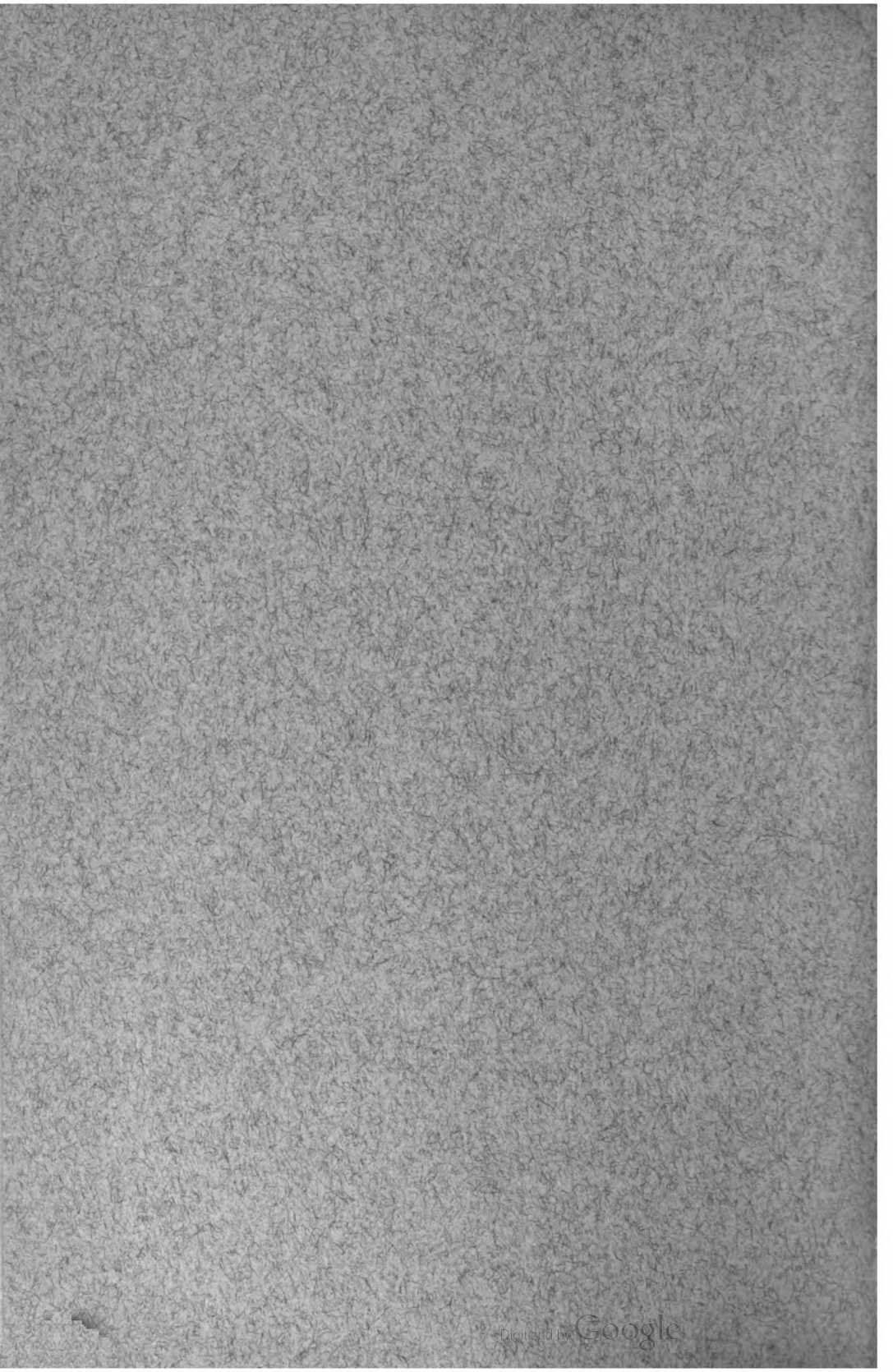
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——“I give and bequeath to the Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, all my books relating to Iceland and the old Scandinavian literature and history. . . .”

——“I give and bequeath to the said Cornell University . . . the sum of Five Thousand (5000) Dollars, to have and to hold for ever, in trust, nevertheless, to receive the income thereof, and to use and expend the said income for the purposes of the publication of an annual volume relating to Iceland and the said Icelandic Collection in the library of the said University.”

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- XV. Jón Guðmundsson and his Natural History of Iceland, by Halldór Hermannsson. 1924.
- XVI. Eggert Ólafsson. A biographical sketch by Halldór Hermannsson. 1925.

There have also been issued:

CATALOGUE of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldór Hermannsson. Ithaca, N. Y., 1914. 4° pp. viii + 755.

CATALOGUE of Runic Literature forming a part of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske. Compiled by Halldór Hermannsson. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1917. 4° pp. viii + (2) + 106, 1 pl.

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The Plates

1. BISHOP GUÐBRANDUR THORLÁKSSON.

From an engraving in Guðmundur Andrússon's *Lexicon Islandicum*, Havnæ 1683.

2. BISHOP THÓRÐUR THORLÁKSSON AND HIS WIFE.

From a painting by Rev. Hjalti Thorsteinsson, now in the National Historical Museum, Fredericksborg Castle, Denmark.

3a. ICELAND. THE CLAVUS-DONIS TYPE.

From Nicolaus Donis' oldest copy of Clavus' second map, ca. 1467, now in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence (cf. Nordenskiöld, *Bidrag*, 1892, pl. 2).

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Gl. kgl. Saml. 2881, 4to.

11. BISHOP THÓRÐUR'S LARGE MAP OF THE NORTHERN REGIONS.

Sökortarkivet, Copenhagen.



BISHOP GUÐBRANDUR THORLÁKSSON

I. Biographical

Although the Icelanders were among the foremost sailors of the middle ages, there is nothing to show that they, in those early days, ever made sketches or maps of the countries they inhabited, visited, or explored; for guidance on their voyages they relied upon information and observations which were handed down by word of mouth, and some of which later were put into writing. Thus no original map-making took place in early Iceland, but during the literary period of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the conventional cartography of the age found its way thither, as is shown by a few specimens of world maps met with in Icelandic manuscripts of the thirteenth century; these are unquestionably copies of foreign originals.¹ From a later century we find a record of a map in one of the Icelandic monasteries, but as to its character and origin nothing is said.² Hence there is no evidence of an original Icelandic cartography earlier than the latter half of the sixteenth century, when Iceland gets its first cartographer in Bishop Guðbrandur Thorláksson.

This gifted and energetic prelate was born at Staðarbakki, Miðfjord, North Iceland, in 1542, Thorlákur Hallgrímsson, his father, being at that time priest of the parish church there. He was student in the Hólar Cathedral School from 1553 to 1559, and upon his graduation served as teacher there for two years. Thereafter he went to the University of Copenhagen where he remained until 1564 when he returned to Iceland. He was then appointed rector of the Skálholt Cathedral School, the first of his countrymen to hold such an office. Three years later (1567) he became minister of Breiðabólstaður in Vesturhóp, succeeding Jón Matthíasson, the Swede, who had first introduced printing into Iceland. In 1570 Ólafur Hjaltason, the first Lutheran bishop of the Northern see of Iceland, died, and, although the clergy of the diocese elected another clergyman to fill the vacancy, the king appointed Guðbrandur Thorláksson

¹ *Antiquités russes*, II. 1852, pp. 390-92, pl. iv.

² *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IX. p. 306.

bishop of Hólar, a position which he held for more than half a century, until his death which occurred July 20th, 1627.¹

The future bishop naturally devoted himself chiefly to the study of theology while attending the Danish university, but as Arngrímur Jónsson, his cousin, says, he would have become prominent as a mathematician, if he had cultivated that discipline, for which he had an especial aptitude, instead of turning to theology. We may, however, presume that during his university days he paid some attention to mathematics; certain it is, at least, that he was familiar with the writings of the leading mathematicians of the time, such as Johann Peurbach and Erasmus Reinhold, whose works he owned and annotated, as well as with the geographical and astronomical writings of Peter Apian and Oronce Fine, and in his early years as bishop he instructed some young men in these sciences.² The practical results of these studies were shown in his making of a celestial globe accommodated to the latitude of Iceland which he presented to Johann Boccholt, governor-general of Iceland, at that time his close friend but afterwards one of his bitterest enemies. As the termination of their friendship took place about 1575,³ the globe must have been made before that date. Unfortunately it is no longer in existence. Furthermore Bishop Guðbrandur was the first to determine scientifically the latitude of any place in Iceland. He calculated that the latitude of Hólar in Hjaltadalur, his see, was $65^{\circ} 44'$, which is nearly correct.⁴ Having noticed how erroneously Iceland was placed on geographical maps of the time, he started to make a terrestrial globe upon which its place was to be shown more correctly. Unhappily official duties and ill health prevented him from completing this,⁵ but the reliable testimony of an eyewitness that such a globe was in preparation

¹ For the best and fullest account of Bp. Guðbrandur's life and times, see Páll E. Ólason, *Menn og mentir síðaskiptaáldarinnar á Íslandi*, vols. III.-IV. Reykjavík 1924-26. Cf. also Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Ísl.* I. p. 205 ff. Finnur Jónsson, *Hist. eccles. Isl.* III, 1775, pp. 368-443.

² For this, and the following, see Arngrímur Jónsson, *Aðvarsla Gudbrandi Thorlacii Hamburgi* 1630, pp. 26-27.

³ *Safn til sögu Ísl.* II. pp. 716-17; cf. Magnús Ketilsson, *Kgl. Forordninger*, II. p. 75 ff.

⁴ Arngr. Jónsson, *Brevis commentarius de Islandia*, Hafniæ 1593, p. 7 (there misprinted 45 for 65); *Crymogæa*, Hamburgi 1609, pp. 7-9, where the longitude is given ca. $13^{\circ} 30'$.

⁵ As the bishop's health began to fail about 1585, we may presume that he had commenced to make the globe before that date; cf. Jón Halldórsson, *Biskupa sögur* II. p. 67.

is of great importance for our purpose, since we have no direct contemporary evidence from Icelandic sources for his authorship of the map of Iceland which generally is ascribed to him and which will be discussed below. He was very skilful as draughtsman and engraver, especially on wood, which is best shown by his work for the Hólar press,¹ and it is greatly to be regretted that neither of his globes should have been preserved. About the country and its people he wrote next to nothing himself, busy as he was with the duties of his office and with other literary work which he doubtless considered to be of a greater benefit to his countrymen. But he encouraged in all possible ways his cousin and right-hand man Arngrímur Jónsson to write in Latin about Iceland and Icelandic affairs with the view of contradicting foreign writers on the subject and of giving foreigners correct ideas about the country and its inhabitants. To some of these works Bishop Guðbrandur wrote prefaces.² In other respects he also furthered geographical knowledge, by encouraging people to explore unknown or little known parts. Thus it is said that at the bishop's suggestion the Hvanndalir Brothers started an expedition to Kolbein's Isle (the Icelandic name for Mevenklint), a rather unusual undertaking in those days, which turned out successfully, although it came near ending in a disaster.³ Bishop Guðbrandur was unquestionably the most learned Icelandic geographer of the sixteenth century, within which his most important work of that kind falls.

The man who in the seventeenth century followed in his footsteps in this respect was his great-grandson, Bishop Thórður Thorláksson. He was born at Hólar in Hjaltadalur, Aug. 14th, 1637, the son of Bishop Thorlákur Skúlason, a grandson on the mother's side of Bishop Guðbrandur. After graduating from the Hólar Cathedral School Thórður was matriculated in 1656 as a student in the University of Copenhagen where he stayed only two years. He was rector of the Hólar School from 1660 to 1663 when he went abroad for the second time, spending the first winter in Copenhagen; afterward he studied in Wittenberg for a year and a half, and while there published and defended his academic dissertation on Iceland, which we shall presently deal

¹ Cf. *Islandica* IX. p. 30f.

² See *Islandica* IX. pp. 43-44; XIV. p. 45, 50.

³ See *Islandica* XV. p. 30, and the references given there.

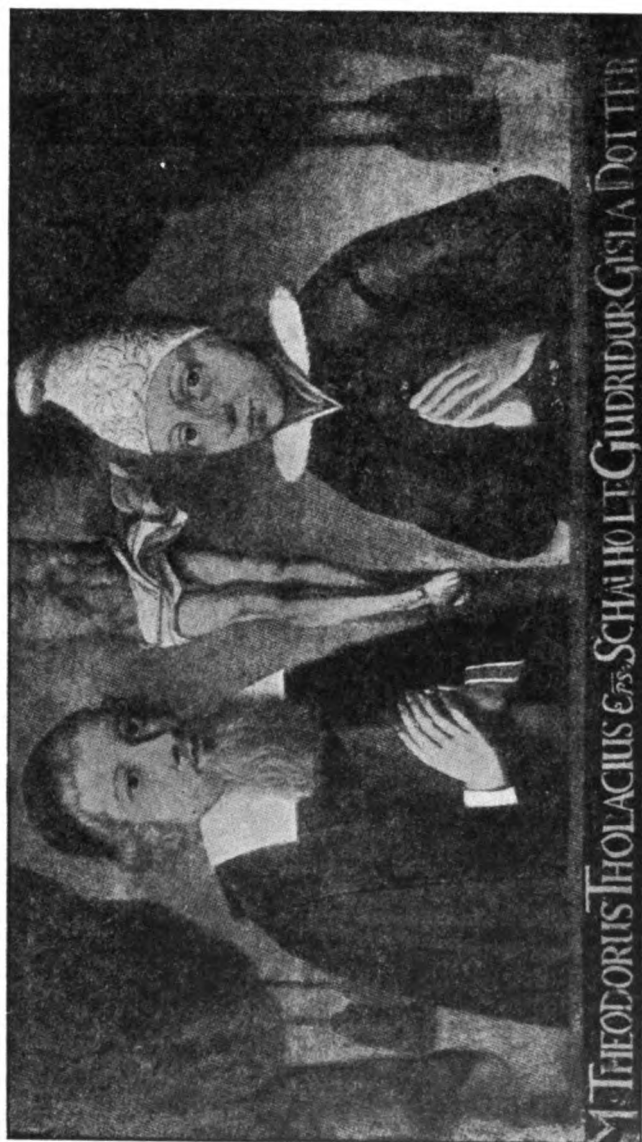
with. From there he went to Paris and the Netherlands, finally returning to Copenhagen where he took his master's degree in 1667. The next summer he spent in Iceland leaving it again in the autumn of 1668. He then visited Norway and stayed for some time at Stangeland with his relative Thormóður Torfason (Torfæus), the historian, but during most of the two following years he lived in Copenhagen, and these were the years when he was especially engaged in cartographic work. He received from the king, June 15th, 1669, what was called a letter of expectance to succeed Brynjólfur Sveinsson as bishop of Skálholt. The following year he visited Iceland, and in 1671 went abroad for the fourth time to be consecrated as bishop, returning in the summer of 1672. In 1674 he entered upon his episcopal duties, and in this office he died March 16th, 1697, after a long illness.¹ In 1674 he had married Guðröður, the daughter of Gísli Magnússon at Hlíðarendi, an aristocrat and one of the leading men in the country, who had studied the natural sciences in foreign universities and was particularly interested in developing the mineral resources of the country.²

Although not as commanding a personality as his great-grandfather, Bishop Thórður possessed many of the old bishop's qualities, such as artistic skill and aptitude for mathematics. He brought the Hólar press to Skálholt and restored it. Most laudable was his innovation in publishing some of the early works of the national literature, as Ari's *Íslendingabók* (*Schedæ* as it was called), the *Landnámabók*, the *Kristni saga*, the *Saga of King Olaf Tryggvason*, and an Icelandic translation of Arngrímur Jónsson's history of the Icelandic colonisation of Greenland. He apparently intended to provide two of these with maps of Iceland and Greenland respectively, but unfortunately did not do so;³ probably some of the pictures and ornaments

¹ About his life, see especially Finnur Jónsson, *Hist. ecclesiastica Isl.* III. 1775, pp. 664-81; Jón Halldórsson, *Biskupa sögur* I. pp. 309-47; Þorv. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Isl.* II. pp. 132-43.

² See P. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðiss. Isl.* II. pp. 116-32.

³ 'Pu lofadir Íslendscri geographiscrí töblu fyrir framan Landnamu, illa at ecke er halldit, enn einginn kann þo sva well giöra sem Herr biscopinn; jeg wil verða aminningar meir att þu halldir Delineationem Gronlandiæ, sem vænist seinast att hafa offrad Hoylofliga Herr. Kong Friderich och Copie þar aff wæri fra þer tekinn aff Skotskum Caper. Par af gaf Monfr. mer eitt Copie, veit ecke hvort er alldeilis efftir hinum. Egskylldi þat lenge sipan latid þrickia heffdi eg hafft þitt lof þar til, vil enn nu giöra ef lof fæ, undir þinu nafni.' Torfason's Letter-book, AM. 282 fol., letter to Bp. Thórður, July 25, 1689.



BISHOP THÓRÐUR THORLÁKSSON AND HIS WIFE

found in these works were made by him. The publication of the saga literature was made especially difficult because most of the manuscripts had been taken out of the country, so hardly any were to be found there to print from. Thus in the case of King Olaf's Saga all that the bishop could get hold of to print from were two manuscripts, seemingly on paper, all the others having been carried away.¹ In answer to some criticism of these editions the bishop apparently chided Thormóður Torfason for this exportation; the latter, at least, found it necessary to defend himself against the charge in a letter to the bishop,² at the same time that he was constantly urging the bishop to secure and send him some saga manuscripts. Bishop Thórður perhaps was not much of an antiquarian, but he was an highly cultivated and well-educated man. Besides his professional studies he had studied music and drawing, and from his pen we have an interesting little essay on church music;³ his draughtsmanship we know best from his cartographic works to be discussed below. He seems to have been of a peculiar temperament,⁴ and to have made greater demands as to comfortable living than his contemporaries in Iceland.⁵

After he had become bishop most of his literary activities consisted in translating and publishing religious books.⁶ These do not concern us here. Only his writings prior to taking orders are of interest in this connection.

The earliest of these is his academic dissertation of 1666, *Dissertatio chorographico-historica de Islandia*,⁷ which he defended under the presidency of Ægidius Strauch. It is written on the same plan as similar works by Arngrímur Jónsson, being especially directed against foreign writers whom the authors considered to be detractors of the land and the people. In his preface, after quoting Synesius' saying that the island of Thule, because of its great distance from other countries, has offered many writers opportunity to lie with impunity, the author

¹ Árni Magnússon, *Private Brevveksling*, 1920, pp. 548-49.

² 'Haffue jeg fært nockur documenta burt af landenu, sem þó eru heilfa villdi jeg oska þad kynne afttur at bethalast i sinne tid því ecke wil jeg minu fódurlande neirn skada thilföya.' AM. 283 fol., letter to Bp. Thórður, 1691.

³ In *Graduale*, Skálhollte 1691, and in subsequent editions.

⁴ Cf. Árni Magnússon, *Brevveksling med Torfæus*, 1916, p. 356.

⁵ Jón Aðils, *Einokunarverðun Dana á Íslandi*, 1919, pp. 471-73.

⁶ Cf. *Islandica* XIV. p. 118, etc.

⁷ For the three editions of 1666, 1670, and 1690, see *Islandica* XIV. p. 116.

distinguishes between two groups of writers on Iceland, those who have repeated what they found in other writers' works, and those who deliberately invented and spread lies and calumnies about the country and its inhabitants; *facile princeps* among the latter was Dithmar Blefken. It may seem strange that the author particularly takes issue with an half-a-century old book which had been effectually refuted by Arngrímur Jónsson.¹ This finds, however, its justification in the fact that Blefken's story was issued and translated again and again while the refutation of it was neglected. He arranges the subject in a similar way as his predecessor had done. The dissertation is divided into two principal sections, the first chorographical or descriptive of the country, the second of the inhabitants, each of the sections being subdivided into theses, and these again into paragraphs, all of which are filled with quotations from all kinds of authors for confirmation or refutation.

The first thesis gives the place of the country as being between 5° and 24° long., and 64° and 67° lat., and its size being greater than that of any island of the neighboring regions. He explains the etymology of its name and examines the homology of the name in Zeno's Islandia, which he, however, concludes either does not exist or is different from Iceland. On the whole he is sceptical regarding the identification of the Zeno names with certain countries of the northern hemisphere, such as Entgrovelandia or Entgronlandia with Greenland of Eric the Red. Dealing with the synonyms for Iceland he devotes several paragraphs to Thule which he thinks is identical with Iceland, and he advances several arguments in favor of this, the principal ones being that Ptolemy's statement about the latitude of Thule agrees with that of Iceland; that the length of the day apparently is the same in both; and that according to Pytheas, as quoted by Strabo, Thule is six days sailing north of Britain which is the case with Iceland. In several paragraphs he refutes those who were of a different opinion, among them Arngrímur Jónsson. All these arguments in favor of his contention can not be said to be very weighty.

Having thus treated the onomatology of the country he passes on to what he styles its pragmatology. He quotes the latitude

¹ See *Islandica* XIV. pp. 45-48.

and longitude given by various authors, while he argues in favor of the degrees mentioned above. As to the actual size of the island he quotes various authorities, but in his own opinion the length and breadth of it nowhere exceed 120 and 38 German miles respectively. The ancients calculated its circumference to be twelve douzins, that is 144 Norwegian miles, or about 228 German miles.

The second thesis deals with the secular and ecclesiastical divisions of Iceland, and the third with the climate and the soil. The former is described as temperate in summer, inclement, even rigorous in certain parts, in winter, yet altogether very salubrious. He refutes the exaggerated statements of foreign writers regarding the polar ice and its effects upon the climate, and gives correct information about it. The soil, he writes, is in some places barren and saltish, in other parts good and producing grass in great abundance. Grain probably could be cultivated there to a greater extent, if it was not for the indifference of the people. Gardens are rare, yet there are a few where vegetables are grown. He is inclined to believe that the country is rich in minerals, but this was as yet little investigated.

The fourth thesis is about mountains, rivers, springs, and lakes, only very few of them being mentioned by name. He considers Snæfellsjökull the highest mountain, and contradicts the numerous fabulous tales about Hekla, which foreign writers served to their readers and which were unknown in Iceland; he also ridicules their tales about hot springs whose vapors were said to turn everything into stone or whose waters were alleged to change the color of wool into white or black as the case might be. Such stories were either due to misunderstanding or were pure inventions.

The fifth thesis mentions the most notable places in the country which were the two sees, the governor general's residence, and the cloisters. Especially noteworthy here is § 3 where the geographical location of the first three of these is given, thus: Hólar, lat. 65' 40", long. 15°; Skálholt, lat. ca. 64°, long. 16°; Bessastaðir, lat. ca. 64°, long. 13°. Other latitudes and longitudes he did not know for certain, and therefore refrained from quoting what might be gathered about this from printed maps. The sixth and the last thesis in this section deals in a most summary fashion with the animal kingdom giving only very few names of birds,

fishes, and whales, yet finding space to tell the story about the inability of mice to live in Grímsey.

The first four theses of the second section on the inhabitants tell briefly about the settlement of the country by the Norwegians; here the author has something more to say about the question of Thule; he summarizes the principal political events since the country submitted to foreign kings, gives information about the church and its organisation, and tells about the secular administration. The fifth thesis on houses, food, drink, and other necessities of life contains many corrections of the statements of Blefken and of other calumniators. The sixth one on language and literature is extremely meagre, consisting principally of a few quotations from the works of Ole Worm. The seventh and last describes the inhabitants themselves who, according to the author, are honest, intelligent, industrious, and hospitable people of medium height, robust and well proportioned, and of not unhandsome appearance. Regarding their character and qualities many erroneous things were to be found in the writings of foreign writers, and the author seizes the opportunity to correct or refute these, in conclusion referring those who wish to know more about the subject to the Latin works of Arngrímur Jónsson.

Brief and unsatisfactory though the dissertation in many ways is, it seems nevertheless to have answered certain needs because within fourteen years it went through three editions, and thus it has doubtless been useful in spreading correct information about Iceland.

In 1668, while in Copenhagen, Thórður compiled a work on Greenland. This has never been printed, and is now preserved in two slightly different forms in the Copenhagen Royal Library, Gl. kgl. Saml. 2881, 4to, and 997, fol. It consists in the first place of a translation into Danish of the description and history of Greenland by Björn Jónsson (of Skarðsá) with explanatory notes and critical remarks by the translator, to which is added as an appendix the brief account of Greenland by Ívar Bárðarson (Iver Bere), after which follow five maps by Bishop Guðbrandur, Sigurður Stefánsson, Jón Guðmundsson, a corrected copy of a portion of a Dutch map, and an original map, the last two by Thórður, all with explanatory notes. Then comes *Compendiosissima Gronlandiæ descriptio chorographica, topographica et chronologica per Theodorum Thorlacium Islandum*; this is prin-

cipally an abstract of the first essay, and hence of no originality and of little merit. Gl. kgl. Saml. 2881, 4to, seems to be the original manuscript, and Gl. kgl. Saml. 997, fol., if not actually written by Thórður himself, was at least made under his supervision; the content of the latter differs, however, from that of the former. It contains the translation of Björn's essay followed by the chronological table in Danish which in the former is found at the end of Thórður's Latin essay, Ívar Bárðarson's account, the five maps, extracts from David Danell's journals of his voyages in 1652 and 1653 in search of the Icelandic colonies in Greenland,¹ and a collection of various accounts about Gunnbjarnarsker. The most interesting part is that containing the maps, and we shall return to them below.

About 1674 the Royal Society of London sent some inquiries to Bishop Thórður and Rev. Páll Björnsson of Selárdalur regarding conditions and certain natural phenomena in Iceland. The latter's reply was printed in the Society's Transactions, while the former's never was published, it may never have reached the Society, and is now found in the Arna-Magnæan Collection, Copenhagen, AM. 913, 4to; this does not concern us here except the information about the magnetic declination which he says is at Hólar about 15 degrees,² and here he gives the latitude of the place as $65^{\circ} 43'$.

While spending the winter of 1670-71 with his brother Bishop Gísli of Hólar, Thórður wrote a *Calendarium* which was printed there in 1671. This was the first of his four calendarial publications which contain various astronomical, chronological, and other kinds of information.³ Only chapter XX. in the *Calendarium perpetuum* of Skálholt 1692 concerns us here; there he gives the latitude of eight places in Iceland, only one of which was based upon his own observations, that of Skálholt ($64^{\circ} 10'$).⁴

¹ These were taken from Bp. Thórður on his voyage to Iceland in 1670 by a Scotch pirate.

² 'Declinationem acús magneticæ Holæ observavi quindecim circiter graduum latitudo eiusdem loci est $65^{\circ} 43'$.' Páll Björnsson merely stated that 'the declination of the load-stone is here to the northwest, but how much he notes not' (see *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. II. (1672-83), 1809, p. 188).

³ See *Islandica* XIV. pp. 117-18.

⁴ The chapter (pp. 99-100) is as follows: 'Vmm *Elevationes Poli*, edur Poli Hæder, sem nu eru kendar a Islande ad so komnu. Vestmanna Eyar R. P. 63 Gradus. 25 Minut. Skalholt Biskups Stoll, R. P. 64 Gradus. 10. M. Reykianes 64 Gr. Keflavijk 64. 15. M. Snæfells Jökull 65. Gr. Biargtangar

II. The Maps of Iceland

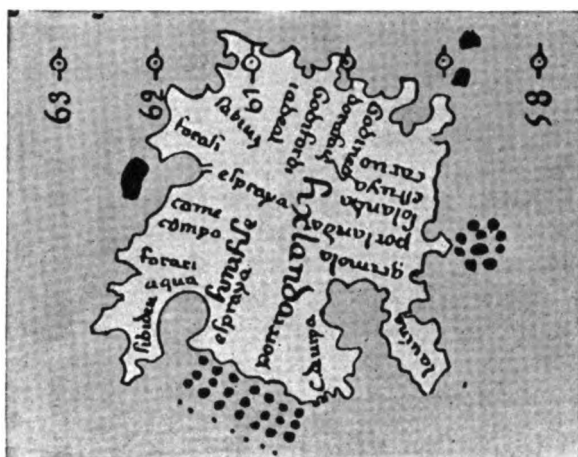
Iceland was first discovered by the Irish late in the eighth or early in the ninth century, and their writers identified it with Thule of the ancients. So did also Adam of Bremen and Saxo Grammaticus. Consequently on early mediæval maps it often appears under various forms of that name (Thule, Tile, Tyle). The first instance in the cartography where the name Iceland (Islanda) is found, is on an Anglo-Saxon map of the tenth century, now in the British Museum.¹ On those early maps the country has various shapes and is placed in a haphazard way somewhere north of the British Isles, usually in the neighborhood of the Scandinavian peninsula. Either the name of Thule or Iceland is applied to it (although often a distinction is made between these two), and seldom any place names appear on it, sometimes a legend is attached to it. It is evident from this that the notions about the country were very hazy, and that no special tradition had been formed as to its shape, exact location, or the places of interest there.² It is not until the fifteenth century that this takes a more definite form and from that time on until the period which we shall deal with here in particular, we can distinguish between three different types of Iceland in the cartography.

The oldest of these types, as far as records go, is the one which may be called the Clavus-Donis type. It owes its origin to Claudius Clavus, the Danish cartographer of the earlier half of the fifteenth century. On his first map of the North (the so-called Nancy map) Iceland has the shape of a crescent with no names on it; this obscure map we can disregard. That he had made a second map of the Northern regions was unknown

65. Gr. 48. M. Hoolar Biskups Stoll 65. Gr. 43. Minut. Eyafjörður 66. Gr. 8. M. Flestar þessar Poli Hæder, höfum vier teked epter *Compendio Cosmographico* Velb. Hans Nanssonar. Poli Hæd j Skalh. epter *Observatione* M. Pordar Thorlakss. P. H. a Holum epter *Observatione* H. Gudbrands Thorlakss. Poli Hæd a Biargtöngum epter *Observ.* S. Pals Biörnssonar ad Selaardal. Være gott adrer gooder Menn sem þar hafa Vitsmune til, villdu betur grenslast epter þessum Poli Hædum a Lande voru, því marger, einkum Vtlendsker, grynast ad fa nockra Vitneskiu þar af.'

¹ J. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen âge* I. 1852, p. 9 ff.; *Atlas*, pl. VII.

² Cf. C. U. D. Eggers, *Physikalische u. statistische Beschreibung von Island*, Kopenhagen 1786, p. 184 ff.; P. Thoroddsen, *Landfræðissaga Isl.* I. pp. 83-101; *Tímarit h. Ísl. Bókmenntafél.* XIV. 1893, pp. 136-204 (Ól. Davíðsson); XXII. 1901, pp. 27-35 (Aug. Gebhardt).



until Dr. A. A. Björnbo discovered in Vienna some time ago the text accompanying it. From this it became apparent that the maps which Nordenskiöld tentatively had called Scandico-Byzantine were derived from the second map of Clavus. In the interval he had obtained information about the latitude and longitude of certain places in Iceland, and these he put on his second map, but most of them he did not designate by their real names, but by the names of the Runic characters, a circumstance which later has caused much tracking of brains and futile explanations. Seemingly he did not get the location of these places from any map, but from some nautical work or sailing directions.¹ This second map had, however, long been known through the reproductions of it by Nicolaus Germanus called Donis. It was first included in his edition of Ptolemy's geography printed at Ulm 1482, and is to be found in numerous subsequent editions down to the middle of the sixteenth century. Several manuscript maps of this class also exist, and have been published by Nordenskiöld and others.² The shape of Iceland on these maps is very long from north to south while narrow the other way, and it is surrounded by a number of small islands, its latitude being between 63° and 65°. The earliest special map of Iceland known to have been printed is of this type; it is to be found in Benedetto Bordone's *Isolario* (Venetia, 1528),³ but it has no names on it. The names, however, survived the type; because long after the type had been abandoned by cartographers the mysterious names continued to appear on the maps of the country, and no one could explain them satisfactorily until Björnbo accidentally found the key to them.⁴

The second type is what may be called the Fixlanda type.

¹ A. A. Björnbo and C. S. Petersen, *Fyenboen Claudius Claussøn Swart (Claudius Clavus), Nordens äldste Kartograf. En Monografi*. Köbenhavn 1904. 4°. Also a revised German edition: *Der Däne C. C. Swart (Cl. Cl.), der älteste Kartograph des Nordens, der erste Ptolemäusgegner der Renaissance*. Innsbruck 1909. 4°. Cf. also Björnbo, *Cartographia Groenlandica (Meddelelser om Grönland. XL. 1912)*.

² For maps of this type, see e.g. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Bidrag till Nordens äldsta kartografi*, Stockholm 1892, pl. 1-3, all 15th century maps in Florentine libraries; Björnbo and Petersen, *Anecdota cartographica. Septentrionalia*, Hauniae 1908, facs. iv.

³ Reproduced in F. W. Lucas, *The Annals of the Voyages of the Zeno*, London 1898, p. 23; cf. also Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-atlas*, 1889, pp. 103-104.

⁴ On the map of the North in Jacob Ziegler's *Schondia*, Strassburg 1532, Iceland has a somewhat similar longish shape as on the Clavus-Donis maps, yet is not directly copied from them, and has only three names on it.

This probably is almost as old as the first, although it can not be traced further back than to portulanos of the latter half of the fifteenth century. It is best represented in a Catalanian portulano, now in Milan, and in the portulanos by Bartolomeo Olives of 1584, and by Matteo Prunes of 1586, now both in Paris.¹ It is a very interesting type, because it unquestionably owes its origin to one who had visited the country and knew well the coast line; it is really an unusually well-drawn map for so early a date. We can easily recognize on it the principal contours of the country, although the proportions often are wrong or exaggerated. Thus we recognize Reykjanes, Faxaflói, Snæfellsnes (much too wide, and the islands west instead of north of it), Breiðafjörð, the northwestern peninsula (altogether too small), Grímsey in the north, Westman Islands off the south coast, and two small islands off the southeast coast. The names, however, do not correspond to any places in Iceland, or, at least, can not be identified with such, except *Porlanda* (Portland). With respect to these Lucas is doubtless right, when he maintains that they are not real proper names but words descriptive of physical conditions of the various places.² It has been suggested that the map is of English origin and that it dates back to the revival of trade between England and Iceland in the earlier half of the fifteenth century, and that the names are Spanish and Portuguese corruptions of the names which were found on the original English map.³ Such English traces are difficult to find, unless it be that Fixlanda stands for Fishlanda. However, the southern cartographers soon began to distinguish between Fixlanda and Iceland as several maps show.⁴ The type never came into the printed maps as representing Iceland,⁵ but through the Zeno map it found its way into practically all printed maps

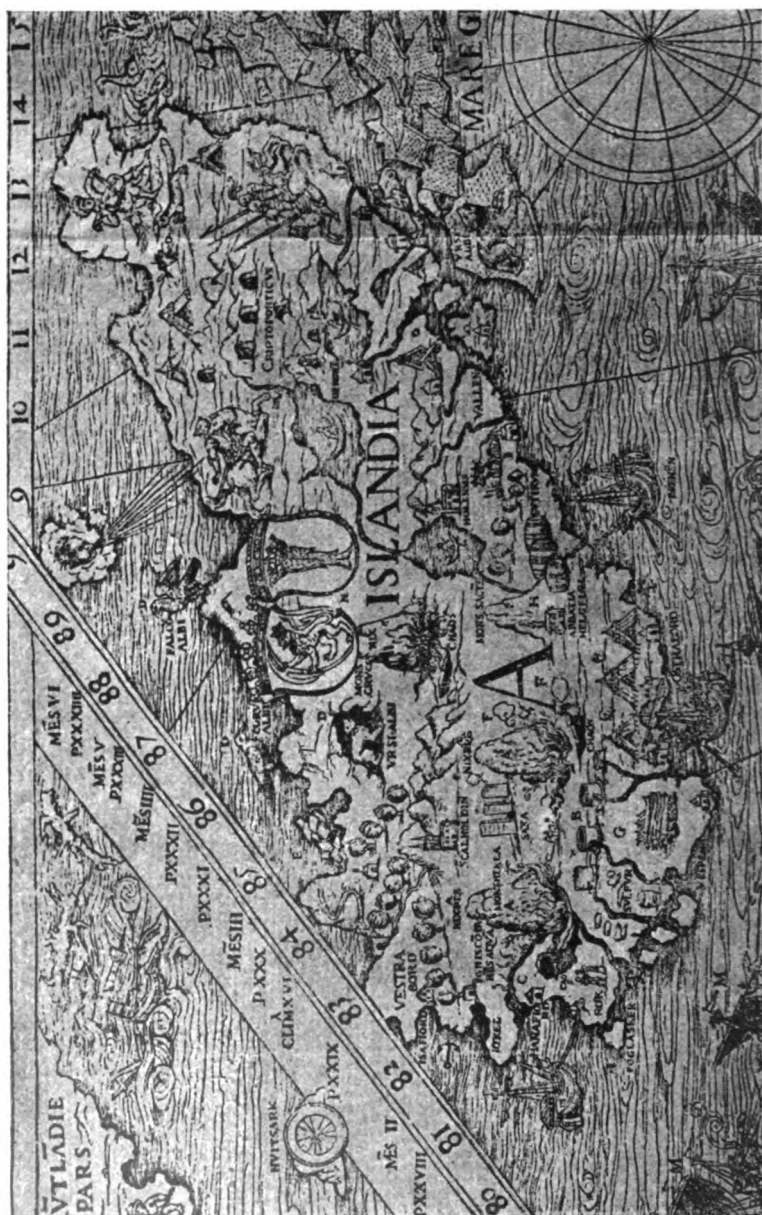
¹ Reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Bidrag*, 1892, pls. 5, 7-8.

² Lucas, *The Annals*, etc. 1898, p. 113.—Gustav Storm's attempt at interpreting *La nina* (on other maps *Lawina*) as standing for Kerling, the rock off Reykjanes, is out of the question (*Det norske geografiske Selskabs Aarvog* IV. 1892-93, p. 80 f.). It is more natural to read *Lawina* and connect it with lava which this peninsula so largely consists of.

³ Fritiof Nansen, *In Northern Mists* II. 1911, p. 279.

⁴ See the 16th century portulano in Nordenskiöld's *Bidrag*, pl. 6.

⁵ K. Ahlenius (*Till kännedomen om Skandinaviens geografi och kartografi under 1500-tallets senare hälft*, Upsala 1900, p. 108) thinks that L. J. Waghenauer, in his *Spiegel der Zeevaerdt* (1584), has imitated the Fixlanda type in his presentation of Iceland. I have consulted a 1585 edition of Waghenauer's work, and I can not therein see the slightest similarity either in form or names; Iceland is represented there nearly circular, and all the names are different.



OLAUS MAGNUS' ISLANDIA

of the North down to the beginning of the eighteenth century as Frislanda or Frisland.

The third type is that found in Olaus Magnus' *Carta marina* of Venice 1539,¹ and afterwards printed separately in Paris 1548 by H. Gourmont.² It is also found in the German translation of Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, printed at Basel 1567, with some additions by Johann Baptist Fickler, the translator. It is generally assumed that Olaus Magnus compiled his map from sailing directions as well as nautical maps, which the title *Carta marina* seems also to imply.³ The contours of the country apparently indicate that the map was drawn after models from the pen of some one who had visited the country or obtained first-hand information about it. Not that these are so good as in the Fixlanda type, but they are far superior to those of the Clavus-Donis type. With all its faults it has visibly something real back of it, and most of the names are intelligible.⁴ For about half a century this was the authoritative map of the country, and upon it were based, at least, three special maps of Iceland. The first of these was published in Venice 1566, by Ferando Berteli,⁵ the second is to be found in G. F. Camocio's *Isole famose* (Venice 1572), and the third in T. Porcacchi's *L'isole piu famose del mondo* (Venice 1572);⁶ the first two are very similar to one another and both put the principal axis directly from north to south, while the third has included most of the names from the Zeno map, with all the spurious islands around the coasts. The forger of that much disputed map adopted for Iceland the Olaus Magnus type, taking at the same time the names from the Clavus-Donis maps

¹ First reproduced by O. Brenner, *Die ächte Karte des Olaus Magnus von Jahre 1539*. Christiania 1886, 8°.—There was a later edition of the map, printed in Rome 1572, reproduced in Nordenskiöld's *Facsimile-Atlas*, p. 59.

² Reproduced by J. Metelka, *O neznámém dosud vydání mapy Islandu Olaa Magna z Roku 1548*, Prague 1895, in the Transactions of the Bohemian Academy of Sciences.

³ Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, pp. 92-94; K. Ahlenius, *Till kännedomen*, etc., p. 7; Same, *Olaus Magnus och hans framställning af Nordens geografi*. Upsala 1895, 8°.

⁴ Of the names, *Ostrabörd* and *Vestrabörd* stand of course for Eýstrahorn and Vestrahorn, and not for Austfirðir and Vestfirðir, as often has been suggested; in this case the latter word probably refers to Cap Horn and not Vestrahorn on the southeast coast. The meaning of *Bergen* is uncertain; it may refer to Berufjörður, or more probably be a borrowing from Clavus (*Bierken*).

⁵ Repr. in Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 1897, p. 81.

⁶ There are later editions of both of these works.

and adding some new of his own invention. Of greatest importance was, however, the fact that Gerhard Mercator, the founder of modern geography, incorporated the Olaus Magnus type in his map of Europe, printed in 1554, and later in his world map of 1569. He turned the principal axis from SW-NE to NW-SE, and placed the country about a degree and a half too far north.¹ He also took from Ziegler's map the name *Hekelfort prom[ontorium]* which henceforth remained on the Mercator maps. But besides this, Mercator, according to his own account, relied upon information from a sailor who had visited the country, and from him he has doubtless obtained additional names.² In the earliest editions of his *Theatrum orbis* Ortelius likewise adopted this type for the general maps on which Iceland was included.

Such was then the situation in the cartography of Iceland, when the two maps appeared which, according to the consensus of opinion of later writers, owe their origin to Bishop Guðbrandur although his name is not mentioned in any edition of them. How great a step forward they represent one can see at a glance by comparing them on the one side with the types I have described above, and on the other with the most recent maps of the country. In spite of the fact that these two maps are of the same authorship, and probably go back to the same original, there is a noteworthy difference between them, as will be seen from what follows. I treat them in the order of their appearance.

The earlier of the two is the Ortelius map. In the first editions of Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* no special map of Iceland was included. This appeared first in *Additamentum IV. Theatri orbis terrarum*, published in Antwerp 1590,³ and henceforth was included in the editions of the *Theatrum*. This map, which is reproduced here, was engraved by Ortelius in 1585, and is dedicated by Andreas Velleius, that is, Anders Sørensen Vedel, the Danish historian, to King Friderick the Second of Denmark. In the list of authors of maps in the atlas

¹ Gerhard Mercator, *Drei Karten: Europa—Britische Inseln—Weltkarte. Hrsgg. von der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*. Berlin 1891. fol.

² 'Scotiæ Islandiæque circumscriptionem et insulas intermedias, magna fide pictas accepimus a perito nauclero, qui multis itineribus hoc mare peruestigavit, neque uero is plures Orcades assignavit, etiam serio a me interrogatus,' cf. Ahlenius, *Till kännedomen*, etc. p. 24 ff.

³ Cf. P. A. Thiele, in *Biographische Adversaria* III. Leiden, 1876-77, p. 83 ff. (Het kaartboek van Abraham Ortelius). A copy of this supplement I have seen in the library of the American Geographical Society, New York.



it is stated that Vedel *Islandiæ insulæ tabulam nobis communicavit*.¹ From this fact he has sometimes been looked upon as the author of it. This, however, is out of the question. Although he occupied himself somewhat with map-making, he was incapable of making such a map as this. He was not acquainted enough with the country to be able to draw such comparatively correct contours nor to give the names of so many places there with relative accuracy; and although their form is frequently corrupted on the map, one may take it for granted that they were correctly spelled in the original manuscript. All this points to an Icelandic authorship. Besides, one contemporary of Bishop Guðbrandur, Claus Lyschander, the Danish writer, ascribes it to him.² But curiously enough, neither Arngrímur Jónsson nor any other Icelander of that time, who has written on him, mention his authorship of the map, although this naturally found its way to Iceland, and was seen by Icelanders abroad. It is difficult to explain this omission, as well as to make clear Vedel's connection with the map. We can only assume that Bishop Guðbrandur sent the original to Vedel for one purpose or another, and he again sent it to Ortelius, at the same time forgetting to mention or deliberately omitting the bishop's name, while wishing to ingratiate himself with the king by dedicating it to him. King Friderick, however, died in 1588, so he may never have seen it, unless a copy was sent to him before its publication in the supplement. The description of Iceland printed on the reverse of the map was compiled by Ortelius from various sources, some items having been communicated by Vedel, but it has no connection whatsoever with Bishop Guðbrandur. It is full of errors and fantastic things, as might be expected, since it was published three years before Arngrímur Jónsson's *Brevis commentarius de Islandia*, the first reliable book on Iceland to appear in print.³

¹ Various terms are used in this list with regard to the people mentioned there, such as *descripsit, delineavit, in lucem dedit*, etc.; *communicavit* hardly implies authorship.

² 'Descriptionem Islandiæ per Gudbrandum loci istius episcopum summo studio et diligentia concinnatam et sibi communicatam, artificiose æri insculptam opera et impensis Ortelii publici fecit juris' (*De scriptorum Dania*, col. 449); here quoted after C. F. Wegener, *Hist. Efterretn. om A. S. Vedel*, 1851, p. 231 f. Wegener is inclined to believe in Vedel's authorship, but finds it difficult to refute this contemporary testimony. Lyschander (1558-1624) was, to be sure, not very critical, but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this. In connection with what will be said below, it is of interest to note that he was a pupil and close friend of David Chytræus.

³ Cf. *Islandica* IX. pp. 43-44. This was sent to Ortelius by Nathan

Certain peculiarities in the spelling of names may be indicative of the map having been worked over by a Dane, such as the word *vík* which in compounds invariably is written in Danish fashion *-vig* (as against Mercator's *-wick*); this, however, is not conclusive, because if the map was made by the bishop for Vedel or some other person in Denmark, he might himself have used this form. Ortelius himself would not have introduced this form of the word, although he may be responsible for other errors or alterations in the various names. But corrupted though the names often are in the Ortelius map, yet it sins less in this respect than most of the other maps of the period, and it is evident that here the forms are closer to the original than in the others. There are about 250 names in all on it, and almost all of them are easily recognizable and clearly show that the original map was by an Icelander.¹ The signs are often misleading, as if the engraver was not certain what the names represented, probably because the original was not clear. While the names evidently all go back to the Icelandic cartographer, most of the legends doubtless were inserted by the engraver, or at least by a foreigner. This is the case with those on the two wells near the south coast which change the color of wool, on the velocity of horses, on the trick of foxes to get into birds' nests, on sea cows, white ravens, and so on. Only the legends about the 'ale-wells' (*ölkeldur*) and the serpent in *Lagarfljót* are likely to have been put in by the author himself. The whales and monsters in the sea may not have been in the original, at least not all of them, yet the tales about them were current in Iceland at that time, and believed in by most people; some of them are visibly taken from earlier maps as are the explanations of them, others are traceable to Icelandic sources.

The contours of the country correspond reasonably well to reality; bays and peninsulas are too prominent in comparison with the bulk of the land, but the reason for this is, of course,

Chytræus in Aug. 1593, see Abrahami Ortelii *Epistula*, ed. J. H. Hessels, Cantabrigiæ 1887, p. 565.

¹ Among the less recognizable might be mentioned *Ploetsburbi* for *Fljóts-hverfi*. It is curious to note that the river beside it is called *Almaphot* which doubtless stands for *Almannafjót*, the old name for *Hverfisfjót*. Unintelligible is *Hierskeid* (referring to houses) near *Hornafjörd*. It has occurred to me that it might be a corruption of *Herðubreið*, the mountain, as this portion of the map is the most inaccurate.

that they were better known than the interior of the country, hence the lack of proportion in the map. The most serious fault of the coast-line is that the stretch between Horn and Portland¹ is far too short; this is common to all maps down to the middle of the eighteenth century, and is due to the fact that this coast is without any harbors, and consequently, it remained least known of the inhabited parts of the country since it was very seldom visited by outsiders.

The latitude is given as ca. $64^{\circ}-67^{\circ} 45'$, and the longitude $350^{\circ} 20'-14^{\circ}$, hence the observations of Bishop Guðbrandur regarding the latitude of Hólar ($65^{\circ} 44'$) are not followed, the latitude of this place being here $66^{\circ} 47'$. Whether this was so in the original map is impossible to say with certainty, but as the Mercator map gives still another latitude, it seems probable that no latitude was given in the original, or that this was disregarded by the engravers. Hence it would follow that the bishop had not as yet made his calculations when he drew the map. We have no way of knowing when he determined the latitude, except that he must have done it before 1593, when Arngrímur Jónsson mentions it in his *Brevis commentarius*. It is worth noting that the bishop in his sketch map of the Northern regions of 1606, to be discussed below, gives the latitude of Iceland ca. $63^{\circ} 50'-66^{\circ} 30'$, and Bishop Þórður does the same in his map of 1668 which is drawn according to Bishop Guðbrandur's observations. The possibility is not excluded that the engraver of the map changed the latitude in order to make it more in agreement with that on the map of Europe included in the *Theatrum*, and which was based upon the Mercator maps of 1554 and 1569, and was of the Olaus Magnus type. However, it often happens in the editions of the early atlases that a special map of a country does not agree in shape or latitude with those given on a general map where that country is shown. The general maps were usually older than the others, and were not changed so as to be absolutely in agreement with the new ones.

I have seen three editions of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, of 1592, 1595, and 1612, and in all these the large map of Iceland (485×330 mm.) is included without any alterations. But the work was also issued in an abridged and smaller form, called *Epitome*

¹ The name of Portland is not given on the map but would be opposite the mouth of the whale marked M.

Theatri Orteliani, in oblong octavo. Of this I have consulted the French editions of 1588 and 1595, the Italian ones of 1593 (by G. Paulet) and 1598 (by P. M. Marchetti), and the Latin of 1612; only in the last is to be found a special map of Iceland (115×85 mm.). This is drawn after the large map, but the whales are omitted, and only a few names (about 33) included. Below will be mentioned another reduced reproduction of the Ortelius map in connection with the small Mercator atlas.

A more exact reproduction of the Ortelius map than that of the *Epitome* is to be found in Matthias Quad's *Europæ totius terrarum orbis partis præstantissimæ, generalis ac particularis descriptio, tabulis expressa* (Coloniæ 1596, small fol.), and in his *Geographisch Handbuch* (Coln am Rhein 1610, small fol.). This map (286×223 mm.) has all the monsters of the sea and the contours precisely as the large map, but the names number only 211.¹ In Hieronymus Megiser's *Septentrio novantiquus, oder die neue Nortwelt* (Leipzig 1613, 8vo) is a special map of Iceland, the Ortelius type (135×85 mm.; lat. ca. 64° – 68°), accompanying Blefken's account, engraved by Christoph Vogel; it has very few names and has dropped the monsters, but some of them are reproduced on a special plate.

Five years after the first publication of the Ortelius map, another special map of Iceland was issued in Gerhard Mercator's *Atlas* (Duisburg 1595, fol.).² This map visibly goes back to the same or very similar original as that of Ortelius, but otherwise they are independent of each other which is rather strange, because Mercator and Ortelius were the best of friends, and it is to be supposed that they kept in close touch with one another regarding their cartographical works. But evidently Mercator did not know the Ortelius map at the time when he made his.

¹ The maps in these two works differ slightly. In the first it is found in an elementary state, without indications of longitude or latitude, and with an oval in the lower right corner empty; the text on the back is in Latin. The other has the latitude and longitude added, and the oval space occupied by a portrait of King Christian IV. of Denmark; text in German. In the editions of 1594 and 1596 of *Europæ descriptio* there is no map of Iceland.

² Mercator's *Atlas* appeared first in parts. The first portion (*Gallia tabula geographica*, and *Germania tabula geographica*) was published in 1585, the second (*Italia, Sclavonia, et Grecia tabula geographica*) in 1589; then came the *Atlas* itself in two parts (*Atlas sive cosmographica meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura*, and *Allantis pars altera, Geographia nova totius mundi*, in which the map of Iceland is found) in 1595. All these parts were first united in one volume in the second edition of the whole *Atlas* of 1602. Mercator introduced first this word to denote a collection of maps.

And therefore we surmise that it was engraved before 1590. This we infer from the slightly different contours, and especially from the difference in the names.

On the Mercator map the country is more compact; it is not so cut up by big fjords and wide rivers as on the Ortelius map, but otherwise the general impression remains virtually the same.¹ The latitude is slightly different, ca. $64^{\circ} 30' - 68^{\circ} 6'$, also the longitude, $354^{\circ} 12' - 13^{\circ}$. The whales are left out with the exception of one (that marked in Ortelius with B),² and the legends are either wholly omitted or made shorter; it was Mercator's principle to exclude these as far as possible.³ But the names are most enlightening as to the relations of the two maps. There is a very conspicuous name misspelled in the same way on both maps, which has probably led many who superficially looked at them to assume their interdependence. This is *Bloe* for *Floe*; the error is probably due to the frequent writing of capital *f* in the sixteenth century in a way which made it similar to capital *p* or even *b*, when the stroke was continued to connect it with the following letter,⁴ and foreigners unacquainted with the language were very apt to misread it; therefore the error is traceable to the original map, and is not a borrowing from Ortelius' map. There are about 290 names in Mercator, that is ca. 40 more than in Ortelius. Some of these additional names are genuine and evidently taken from the original,⁵ others are clearly inventions of the engraver, such as those formed of the first part of the name of a fjord, and placed at the head of this fjord, where either no corresponding place is to be found or when found has the same name as the fjord.⁶ There are a few other names which no Icelanders would have used, like *Hekla promontorium* (a borrowing from Ziegler) and the curious name

¹ The Mercator map is reproduced by Nordenskiöld, reduced in *Periplus*, p. 91; in natural size (430 × 280 mm.) in *Bidrag*, pl. 9. I have given here a reproduction of the small map from *Atlas minor*, which gives exactly the same shape of the country as the large map, but it has fewer names.

² From this one could assume that at least this was found in the original.

³ Only the legends about the serpent in *Lagarfjót*, about the white ravens and falcons, and about the wells changing the color of wool, are retained. It is unlikely that the last two were in the original.

⁴ This can be found in Bp. Guðbrandur's handwriting.

⁵ E.g. *Bonssheider* (Botnsheiði), *Kitur* (Ritur), *Baldakin* (Kaldakinn), *Helkunduheider*, *Minkaks* (Minpaks[eyri]), and so on.

⁶ E.g. *Hanefjord* (Hafnarfjörður) and *Haner*; *Hualfjord* (Hvalfjörður) and *Hual*; *Olaisfjord* (Ólafsfjörður) and *Olais*, and various others like this.

Pestiliaeyar as a variant of *Vestmanneyjar*. On the whole the corruption of names is far greater here than in *Ortelius*, although occasionally one meets with a more correct form. *Mercator* invariably has *hökel* for *jökull* (*Ortelius*: *iökul*), and in a great many cases substitutes capital *p* for *f*.¹ Some names are difficult to identify, others next to impossible.² Curious is the legend south of *Mývatn* which the engraver evidently did not understand; it reads: *Hier Ikin natsell sunnatst* (i.e. *Hier skín náttól sunnast*), literally: Here the midnight-sun shines farthest south.

The interdependence of the two maps is, I think, excluded, but the question remains whether they are derived from the same original or not. That they have so much in common would seem to speak in favor of the same original, and the differences might be due to the selection, misreadings, changes and omissions made by the copyists or engravers, and the slight difference in contours to the sketchy form of the original. It is entirely possible that Bishop *Guðbrandur*'s original map, after having been used by *Vedel* or *Ortelius*, reached *Mercator* and was used by him. About the *Ortelius* map and his sources of information we have no intimation beyond the fact that it came to him from *Vedel*. On the other hand, *Rumold Mercator* writes that as to England, Scotland and Iceland his father obtained information from *Bernard Furmerius* of *Leeuwarden* who again depended upon the works of *Richard Stanyhurst*, *David Chytræus*, and others.³ This *David Chytræus* could be no other than the Rostock theological professor of that name, a friend and correspondent of *Arngrímur Jónsson*⁴ and on friendly terms with

¹ E.g. *Platey* (*Flatey*), *Peokestrant* (*Fellsströnd*, *Ortelius* has *Pellestrand*), etc.

² Among the latter are *Kostram* (near *Breiðfjörð*), *Astat* (possibly *Akrar* in *Skagafjörð*), *Illagahilbi* (near *Pykkvibær* Cloister), *Haske* (possibly *Holt undir Eyjafjöllum*).

³ See *K. Ahlenius, Till kändedomen*, etc., p. 126.

⁴ *Arngrímur* made *David Chytræus*' acquaintance in the winter of 1592-93, and some of the letters which the latter wrote are published in *Arngrímur's Axorþing calumniæ*, 1622, pp. 82-85. And *Arngrímur* refers to him in *Crymogæa*, p. 16, as an authority regarding the relation between Norwegian and German miles. He is even counted among *Chytræus*' disciples (see *P. Paulsen, D. Chytræus als Historiker*, Rostock 1897, p. 13). We have seen above that *Nathan Chytræus*, *David*'s younger brother, the classicist, sent a copy of *Brevis commentarius* to *Ortelius*. Furthermore that *Lyschander*, *Chytræus*' close friend and pupil, states that *Bp. Guðbrandur* was the author of the *Ortelius* map. So in the *Chytræus* circle the authorship must have been known. —Some years later *Philipp Nicolai*, the Hamburg divine, wished to get from *Bishop Guðbrandur* or *Arngrímur* a picture of the *Hólar* see and map of the diocese for publication in a *Theatrum geographicum*, but nothing apparently came of that (cf. *P. E. Ólason, Menn og menir* IV. pp. 147-49).

Bishop Guðbrandur who translated one of his books into Icelandic.¹ About the relations of Furmerius and Chytræus I have been able to find nothing, but the latter has written nothing about Iceland, although he mentions it in one of his writings, so his works could not serve as a source for information about it. Whatever information he may have supplied he probably got directly from his Icelandic friends and communicated it to Furmerius. But there is nothing to show that a map was secured through such channels. I believe therefore that Mercator used the original upon which the Ortelius map was based, and that he obtained it from Henrik Rantzau, the Danish nobleman, who gave him much information about the Scandinavian countries and supplied him with some maps. Thus, I think, the Ortelius map is a copy made by Vedel of this original. Rantzau, who was a patron and correspondent of Vedel, probably later secured this and sent it to Mercator. Rantzau may not have known who the author was, only that it was not Vedel. This may explain why no author's name it attached to the Mercator map, and if it was engraved directly after the original, it presumably is truer to it than Ortelius' map. This may also explain the more numerous errors in the nomenclature, since Mercator doubtless was less proficient in reading the names than Vedel.

Gerhard Mercator died the year before the principal and final portion of his *Atlas* saw the light. His son, Rumold Mercator, continued his work and prepared the second edition of 1602, but he also died two years before this was published. The heirs finally sold out to Jodocus Hondius who issued four editions of the atlas (1606-09). He died in 1611, and the business was continued by his son Hendrick and his son-in-law Johannes Janssonius, who issued a new edition in the same year. Of these editions I have seen those of 1608 and 1611, as well as the subsequent editions of 1613, 1619, 1623, 1628, and the French edition of 1633; in all of them the map of Iceland is included without alterations. But in the German edition of 1633-36 the Mercator map is replaced by Flandrus' map of which we shall speak presently.²

¹ See *Islandica* IX. pp. 63-64.

² About the *Atlas* and the editions of it, see H. Averdunk and J. Müller-Reinhard, *Gerhard Mercator und die Geographen unter seinen Nachkommen*. Gotha 1914, pp. 83-102.

As in the case of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, a smaller issue was prepared of Mercator's *Atlas*, entitled *Atlas minor*, in oblong octavo. There are said to be 27 editions of this in different languages between 1596 and 1691.¹ I have seen only six of them. The Latin editions of 1607 and 1609 have a reduced copy of the Mercator map (185 × 133 mm.) and with fewer names than the original, about 172 in all; the map of the 1607 edition is reproduced here; the other is identical except that latitude and longitude are different (63° 45'–67° 30'; ca. 5°–25°). The Latin edition of 1632 is merely styled *Atlas* and is somewhat larger than the others. The map there is engraved by P. Kærius, measures 250 × 185 mm., and has fewer names than the original Mercator map (about 235). But the other three editions of the *Atlas minor* which I have seen are the German ones of 1631, 1648, and 1651, and they all have a small reproduction of the Ortelius map (195 × 134 mm.); although Ortelius' name is not mentioned, this is clear from the contours and the form of the names which number 115. The small Mercator map is also found in *Purchas His Pilgrims* (London 1625) together with Blefken's account and the abstract of Arngr. Jónsson's *Crymogæa*.

The first edition of *Tabula Islandiæ auctore Georgio Carolo Flandro* is, I believe, to be found in Joh. I. Pontanus' *Rerum Danicarum historia* (Amstelodami 1631, fol.). It measures 490 × 375 mm. and gives latitude 64° 30'–68° 12' and longitude 356° 12'–11° 6'. About its author I have been unable to find anything; he probably was a common engraver. The map is nothing but a combination of the two earlier maps. The author, as he calls himself, has followed the contours of the Ortelius map and taken the names from Mercator with all their errors, omitting a few and adding others. There are 270 names in all.² It became the most widely known map of Iceland during the seventeenth century and even into the following one, although it was in no way better than they; as a matter of fact it retained the principal drawbacks of both, the contours from Ortelius, and the names from Mercator. It was included in many atlases prac-

¹ See Averdunk and Reinhard, *op. cit.* pp. 102–106.

² Among the additions are *Híernes*, *Kolswick*, *Midwick*, *Burgerfiord*, *Hellesfiord* (both in the east), *Estisfiord* (Eskifjörður), *Lonn*, *Papifiord*, etc. These he may have picked up from Dutch nautical maps. Other additions are on the principle of Mercator of making a place name out of a first part of a compound, as *Kollafiord* and *Kolla*, *Sigluifiord* and *Siglu*, etc.

tically unchanged, except that now and then the longitude and latitude vary, and there are different cartouches. It is to be found in the following atlases which have come under my observation, in addition to the works already mentioned:—in W. and J. Blaeu, *Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive Atlas novus*, 1640, and in the following editions, usually entitled *Atlas novus* or *Atlas major*, 1640, 1641–54 (German ed.), 1644–45, 1647–55 (German ed.), 1648–55, 1649 (Dutch ed.), 1662, 1663 (French ed.); in Joh. Janssonius, *Novus atlas*, 1641, 1646–57 (German ed.), 1649 ff., 1652 (German ed.), 1656 ff. (German ed.); in Moses Pitt's, also called Will. Nicolson's *English Atlas*, Oxford 1680–83, with the title '*Novissima Islandiæ tabula, sumptibus Janssonio-Waesbergiorum, Mosis Pitt et Stephani Swart,*' not mentioning Flandrus' name at all. A copy of the same map with identical cartouche I have seen with the title '*Novissima Islandiæ tabula, Amstelodami, typis P. Schenk et G. Valk,*' which probably is the same map that Eggers mentions as *auctore Schenck & Valk*;¹ it must be from one of their atlases, of which I have seen no edition.

A very small map of the Flandrus type by P. du Val, the French geographer, accompanied La Peyrère's *Relation de l'Islande* (Paris, 1663. 130 × 110 mm., lat. 64° 45'–68° 15', long. 352° 45'–6° 45'); it has about 60 names on it.² Nicolas Sanson, the elder, also made a map which primarily is based on the Flandrus map and which has the following title: *Isle d'Islande divisée en ses quatre principales parties tirés d'Andr. Velleius, de Georg. Carolus Flander, etc.* 1667 (Chez Pierre Mariette. 273 × 185 mm., lat. 64° 30'–68° 20', long. 355°–11°); it gives about 125 names. In what atlas by Sanson, or his successor, H. Jaillot, this map was included, I have not been able to find. A somewhat larger reproduction of the Flandrus map is the map found in Vincenzo Coronelli's *Corso geografico universale* (Venetia 1692) and in his *Isolario* (Venetia 1696, forming volume second of his *Atlante veneto*. 305 × 230 mm., lat. 64° 35'–68° 40', long. 357° 30'–10° 50'), with 185 names.

The map included in Sir Robert Dudley's *Arcano del mare* (Firenze 1646–47) deserves special mention; it probably comes

¹ Eggers, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

² Two peculiar names appear on this map in capital letters, viz. *Papei*, on the mainland north of Hvammsfjord, and *Sneland* alongside Lagarfjót.

nearest to the Flandrus type, although it really is in a class by itself because of the arbitrary way in which the author has made use of the material at his disposal. Of course, this is supposed to be a nautical map and consequently gives names only on or off the coast. It has the title *Carta particolare dell' Isola di Islandia, è Frislandia, con l' Isolette di Fare*, and is further characterized as *I. d' Islandia per la cartta ollandese* (555 × 350 mm., lat. 63° 50'–68° 20', long. 356°–13° 45'). There are 265 names on it, and they represent often very curious corruptions and repetitions, and strange combinations, the author's aim seemingly being to include as many names as possible, in order probably to impress the public with his knowledge.¹ In Skagafjord only some numbers are given which apparently are to indicate depth. On another map is shown the east coast of Iceland according to English maps (*Icelandia* [!] *per la carta Inglese*). On this are some names different from those in the other map, and off the coast is in big letters *Whals Back* (Hvals-bakur) which is not given on the other.

As a part of his plan of publishing a Northern atlas, Johannes Mejer, the Danish cartographer, worked out several maps of Iceland, about 1650, and they are now found among his other manuscript maps in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Gl. kgl. Saml. 709–10 fol.). The Icelandic maps are nine, three of the whole country, four showing each of the Quarters, one of the Westman Islands, and one of Hvalfjord (*Wallisfjordt*). Whether the special maps were preparatory to the general ones is not possible to ascertain, but that point is of little importance.² The largest of these general maps has a Latin title and is dedicated to Crownprince Christian of Denmark;³ it gives lat. 62° 55'–67° 10', long. 7°–21°, the length of the country from west to east 90 German miles, the breadth from south to north 50 miles,

¹ What corresponds to Portland is called here *Marchaut forland*, a name which occurs on French medieval maps, and east of it is *C. Hekia* which on the Mercator map presumably stands for Portland. Sir Robert sometimes takes one name and repeats it three times as cape, bay, and gulf. There is a second edition of Firenze 1661, but I have only seen the one referred to above.

² In the case of Denmark the general maps preceded the special ones. About Mejer, see P. Lauridsen's treatise in the Danish *Historisk Tidsskrift* 6. R. I. 1887, pp. 239–402 (Kartografen J. M.).

³ 'Tabula geographica maximæ insulæ Islandiæ exhibens omnes ejus portus famosos, civitates, pagos et vicos notissimos, qvemadmodum hodie habentur, etc.'

and the area 3420 square miles.¹ The two others are smaller and have a German title, one with the date 1650. The names on all these maps are partly taken from the printed ones mentioned above, and often more corrupted than there, if that were possible; partly new, and these last are apparently placed in the most haphazard way. As an example of this might be mentioned that *Landz Dingstet* (i.e. the place of the National Assembly) is placed within the Hólar diocese in the desert south of Eyjafjörð, while *Engvaller* and *Bingvettir*, both of which stand on Flandrus' map presumably for Thingvellir, are put in a relatively right place at some distance from one another.² Possibly there are more names on the special maps than the others, but the confusion is the same. When the author has attempted to go his own way as in the special map of the Westman Islands, his ignorance is most palpable. Yet he would have been able to get information about those islands from merchants and sailors who had been there, but this he apparently has not sought. In three respects, however, these maps are noteworthy. The location of some of the principal places is given more correctly than in any map before; an attempt is first made, not very successfully, to show the division into *sýslur*, besides that into Quarters; and Mejer has succeeded in giving juster proportions to the south coast. This last is due to his having somewhere obtained figures about the length in miles of the circumnavigation of the country; this he marks on his two smaller maps and added up it makes 257 German miles.³ From this he learned that the distance from Horn to the southernmost point of Iceland (which he did not know was Portland) was 54 miles, while from there to Reykjanes was only 38 miles. He draws the coast according to this and gets the proportions much better than they were on the earlier maps, but he gets hopelessly mixed up in the names. He calls the real Portland *Sudhorn von Iszland* while *Portland* and *Hecla prom.* are found much farther east.

¹ Skálholt has here lat. $64^{\circ} 30'$, long. $14^{\circ} 5'$; Bessastaðir, lat. $64^{\circ} 10'$, long. $11^{\circ} 10'$; Hólar, lat. $65^{\circ} 45'$, long. $13^{\circ} 30'$. He counts from the meridian of the Azores.

² *Engvaller* appears first on the Flandrus map and could not stand for anything but Thingvellir. At the same time Flandrus took *Binghottr* from the Mercator map which doubtless represents the same. Ortelius has *Fingmollur*, and Coronelli both *Bingnottr* and *Engvaller*.

³ For various old notes on this, cf. Kr. Kaalund, *Bidrag til hist.-topogr. Beskrivelse af Island* II. 1879-82, pp. 373-75.

I have not been able to find that later cartographers have made any use of Mejer's maps, except that they were known to Resen.

We now come to Bishop Þórður's maps. They all date from the years 1668-70 which he spent in Copenhagen. As far as Iceland is concerned his cartographic work seems to be directly connected with his chorographic-historical dissertation which has been mentioned above, to be a result of his continued study of the subject. Under more favorable conditions, both as to position and health, he would probably have done more in this line; what he did is very creditable, his maps as well as his editions of three of the fundamental works of Icelandic history.¹ We can point out many faults in them, but most of these were unavoidable under the circumstances and in those days.

HIS FIRST MAP OF ICELAND which is reproduced here reduced by about one third (original 415 × 280 mm.) bears the title *Islandia iuxta observationes longitudinum et latitudinum Gudbrandi Thorlacii, episcopi quondam Holensis, examussim delineata a Theodoro Thorlacio 1668*. The other half of the cartouche is left vacant, but the author probably intended to fill it with a legend or a picture. In the lower left corner a man and a woman in national dress are pictured holding the coat-of-arms of Iceland; in the ocean south of the country four whales are seen, and north of it drift timber and polar ice with seals and polar bears; two ships are sailing into Faxaflói which name, curiously enough, is neither given in this nor in any of the early maps. Long. 7°-19°; lat. 63° 45'-66° 35', thus we get the location of Hólar as observed by Bishop Guðbrandur. The most noticeable faults of the map are the angular form of the southeast corner and the wrong proportions of the south coast; also Reykjanes and Snæfellsnes are altogether too short; the last should extend nearly as far west as the Northwestern peninsula. The latitude of Cap Horn is nearly correct, but on the eastern part of the north coast Melrakkaslétta is far too short. Most conspicuous is the lack of knowledge about the interior; it is surprising that such large areas as Vatnajökull and Ódáðahraun should not be mentioned at all. As on the earlier maps the divisions into two dioceses and four quarters are shown here, and in addition also that into districts, or *sýslur*, more correctly than on Mejer's map.

¹ See *Islandica* XIV. p. 4, 61-62.



The demarkation lines between the *sýslur* extend here into the interior desert. Harbors are indicated by an anchor. Except for the legend about the serpent in Lagarfljót, the legends are confined to the objects shown in the ocean. There are about 466 names on the map, which is far more than on any of the earlier ones, and these names are usually correctly spelled and placed with relative accuracy.¹ On the whole, this map is by far the best map which, as far as we know, had been made of the country up to that time.

Now the question is whether Thórður drew this map merely after Bishop Guðbrandur's observations of longitudes and latitudes without having the latter's map before him, or whether he actually had a copy of that map. It seems to be the right inference from the title that the first was the case. As a model he probably used the early printed maps, made corrections and changes in them where he considered it necessary, and added new names and other things which he thought of importance. The contours of the map bear more similarity to those of the Mercator map than of the others. And this may possibly indicate that the Mercator map in Thórður's opinion came nearest to the original.

About the same time, Thórður made his SECOND MAP OF ICELAND. Until a few years ago this was together with the first in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Gl. kgl. Saml. 1088B, fol.), but now unfortunately is lost, and we know very little about it, beyond that it was somewhat different from the first.² It is a great pity that it should have disappeared.

In 1670 Thórður made his THIRD MAP OF ICELAND, which he dedicated and presented to King Christian V of Denmark who just then had ascended the throne. The title of this map, which in a reduced form is reproduced here, is *Nova et accurata Islandiæ delineatio auctore Theodoro Thorlacio Islando 1670*. In the lower left corner is the dedication to the king in an elaborate, artistic cartouche, and in the lower right corner the scale in German, Norwegian, and Icelandic miles. The title is near the upper right corner, and above it the Icelandic coat-of-arms carried by two falcons, and to the left of this, off the north coast, three whales; two merchant ships are seen off the west coast and one

¹ On the north shore of Melrakkaslétta is an harbor called *Rijnhöfn*; this name is unknown, and it must be a mistake for Hraunhöfn.

² See Thoroddsen, P., *Landfrss. Isl.* II. p. 142.

off the southeast. Below the map is a dedicatory poem to the king in Latin, Danish, and Icelandic, written in four parallel columns, the Icelandic version being both in Runic characters and Latin letters; it is a mawkish eulogy of the monarch and the less said about it the better. The whole measures 965×710 mm., the map itself only 430×685 mm. It has been on stocks at the top and bottom, and with green silk fringe on the sides; on the whole beautifully made up. The map probably remained in the king's library until Árni Magnússon borrowed it for his own use when he was sent to Iceland as royal commissioner in 1702, and he seems to have made use of it on his travels there.¹ Since that time it was in his possession and after his death was incorporated in the Arna-Magnæan Collection, in the University Library, Copenhagen, where it now is as AM. 379b, fol. It shows a great deal of wear, and has been injured by being for a long time folded, instead of being rolled up as it now is.

This third map is in many ways an improvement upon the first, and is to be looked upon as Bishop Thórður's original work, while the others were, in a way, copies. It gives the latitude as $63^{\circ} 15' - 66^{\circ} 45'$, so the Arctic circle touches the northernmost point of Melrakkaslétta, as it should, but the Westfjords (the northwestern peninsula) extend about $15'$ too far north; the longitude is $7^{\circ} 40' - 20^{\circ}$, the Eastfjords curving farther east than on the other, and thus the coast-line is improved.² The south-

¹ In support of this may be quoted the following item in a list of things which Árni Magnússon brought with him (AM. 267, 8vo, f. 49): 'I tveimur storum kistum læstum . . . I annare þeirra liggur Íslands landkort kongsins með römmum samanvafid.'—In AM. 213, 8vo, Árni three times refers to Bp. Thórður's map, thus f. 13: 'Það sem kallast í Mag. Þordar landkorte Trievik á ad heita Vidvík. Krókavík á ad vera Kiólsvík'; f. 33: 'Skinneyar sem standa í Mag. Þordar landkorti, kannast Austfirðingar ei vid. Mun vera villt málum, og þær settar fyrir Hrollaugseyar, sem í sama kort vantar'; f. 74: 'Híorleifshöfði liggur strax fyrir austan Múlaqvísl, vide Tabulam Islandiæ Mag. Þordar.' Regarding the second item mentioned by Árni, it is curious that both Skinneyar and Hrollaugseyjar are found in Ortelius' and Mercator's maps, while Bp. Þórður's has only Skinneyar, and Árni's explanation is doubtless right that the bishop has confused them with Hrollaugseyar. But Skinneyar must have been in Bp. Guðbrandur's original, and the name seemingly is derived from Skinneyarhöfði which is a cape near Hornafjörður and which at high tide is cut off from land, but Skinney is a name of a farm in Hornafjörður (cf. AM. 213, 8vo, f. 33 and 35), so Flandrus has unknowingly stumbled on the right thing, when of Mercator's *Skinneiar* he makes *Skin*, a place on land.—I think Árni also has drawn on the map the route from Myvatn to Wagnafjörður, and in another place added the name Hamarsfiörðr.

² Only few of the latitudes of places, mentioned above, p. 9, note 4, are observed here: Reykjanes, 64° ; Keflavík, $64^{\circ} 15'$; Snæfellsjökull, 65° ; the others are different. Even Hólar is not put exactly according to Bp. Guðbrandur's measurements.



east corner is here rounded off a little more but not enough, and the south coast still shows wrong proportions east and west of Portland; the bay of Þorlákshöfn is, however, made less prominent. The divisions into dioceses, quarters, and districts (*sýslur*) are all to be found here, but these last are not extended into the interior desert but merely cover the inhabited parts, as is correct. The interior is very unsatisfactory as before, yet there is a slight improvement.¹ There are 582 names on the map; of these 188 are not to be found on the first map, while on that are 70 names which are not included here. Most of the names are those of fjords, islands, peninsulas, harbors, or trading places, churches and parsonages; quite a few of mountains and many of rivers, whose courses are frequently inaccurately marked. Names of several minor districts (*sveitir*, *hreppar*) are also to be found. A few Latin legends are likewise included.²

All considered the map is quite remarkable for its time, artistically drawn, and often surprisingly accurate in detail. It is to be remembered that no trigonometrical survey of any part of the country had then even been attempted, so the map is based upon a few astronomical observations, and calculations drawn from them, upon personal knowledge of doubtless considerable part of the country, upon hearsay and information from various people, and to some extent possibly upon written sources. All this the author has worked together into this handsome map which, if published, would have done much to correct the ideas about the country among foreigners as well as among the inhabitants themselves. There was not much travelling in those days, so there were many who had but a limited knowledge about the geography of their native land. It is much to be regretted that these two Icelandic cartographers were not able themselves to publish, or even to supervise the publication of their maps. As it was, Bishop Guðbrandur's suffered greatly at the hands of foreign engravers, and Bishop Þórður's never was printed, and consequently played very little, if any, part in the development of the cartography of the country.

In conclusion another manuscript map of the seventeenth

¹ Here is mentioned *Hnappavallaiökull*, a name which now is seldom, if ever, used; possibly the same as *Hnappafellsjökull*. It is doubtless a part of Vatnajökull, but it is placed too far north, it should be nearer the south coast.

² These are about the *surtarbrand* in the west; about minerals in the mountains between Borgarfjord and Hvalfjord; about the sulphur mines in Krisuvík; about the double spar in Reyðarfjord, and about the serpent in Lagarfljót.

century may be mentioned here, especially since it seems probable that some Icelander contributed to it. In the late eighties of the century Peder Hansen Resen, the Danish historian and jurist, compiled in Latin a comprehensive description of the Danish kingdom, including Iceland; it is among the best written about the country at that time by foreigners, but has never been published.¹ Maps were made to illustrate the work, and among them one of Iceland which now is preserved in AM. 359 fol. (300 × 480 mm.), giving lat. 63°—ca. 67°, long. 350°—ca. 15°.² The country's narrowness from north to south presents some likeness to the Mercator map which possibly served as a model, but as to the northeastern corner the present map is far inferior to that; here the fjords of that region are shown as if they were mouths of rivers, and consequently the peninsulas disappear. This map has many names in common with the earlier maps, but here they are as a rule in a Danicized form and on the whole more correct, some new are added, and chiefly this leads me to surmise that there has been an Icelander here at work, although I am unable to suggest any particular person. Evidently the map was intended to be provided with the coat-of-arms of the country and a few pictures of whales.

I have examined here merely the special maps of Iceland which are traceable to or made by these two native cartographers. But during the seventeenth century Iceland, of course, is represented on various other maps, such as maps of the world, of Europe, of the northern countries in general, of the regions adjacent to the North Pole and the Arctic Ocean, as well as on nautical maps of the northern seas. The contours of the country and the names vary on those maps, and at times show new elements doubtless derived from the cartographers' or their informers' observations, so they often show differences from the special maps which I have dealt with here. And these foreign maps have not been without influence upon Icelandic cartographers as will be seen in the next chapter. But all that requires a closer study and a longer treatment than there is place for here.

¹ See P. Thoroddsen, *Landfrss. Isl.* II. pp. 183–92.

² On the back of the map is written: 'NB. Elevatio poli aff Skalholt efter Gislai Einarii sendebreff til Henrik Bielke, som findes paa den runde Kirke i Præsidentens Bibliothek er 64 gr. og 14 minutter, hvormed og er de fleste Meieri handshreffne taffler omtrent offverens stemmer. Og Elevatio poli aff Hølem efter Gudbrandi Thorlacii observation er 65 grad og 45 minutter.' Neither of these latitudes is observed on the map.

III. The Maps of Greenland and the Northern Regions

Above Bishop Guðbrandur has been called the first Icelandic cartographer. This characterization might seem to be contradicted by a map of the Northern regions ascribed to Sigurður Stefánsson, rector of the Skálholt Cathedral School, having the date of 1570.¹ Árni Magnússon² was the first to see the untenability of this date in connection with this author, who was probably born shortly before 1570 and died 1594 (or 1595);³ so if the map really is by him, which it seems to be, the date must be wrong, the copyist presumably having written 1570 for 1590; unfortunately the original is lost. And by that time Bishop Guðbrandur had made his map of Iceland, so the position assigned to him above is justified.

But the map of Iceland is not the only one from his hand. After Martin Frobisher and John Davis had rediscovered Greenland in the last decade of the sixteenth century, without finding any trace of the Icelandic colonists there, the Danish government continued its efforts to reach the old colonies, being very anxious to add them again to the realm. And in the years 1605-07 Christian IV sent one expedition after another in search of the colonies. There can be no doubt that it was in connection with these efforts that Bishop Guðbrandur made his map of the Northern regions, with especial reference to Greenland, in 1606. I take it for granted that Bishop Hans Poulsen Resen has written to Bishop Guðbrandur asking him for a map or sailing directions according to Icelandic records or tradition which might be of help to the expeditions. Certain it is that the notes accompanying the map are addressed to Resen, the bishop writing that it is compiled from memory, and in order that the names be correctly read he suggests that the assistance of some Icelandic student, preferably one Jón Ólafsson, be sought. Resen has himself written on the map: *H. Gudbrands egen Haand 1606*. The original is now preserved in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Gl. kgl. Saml. 2876, 4to; 444 × 320 mm.), and is reproduced

¹ This map has often been printed; see Torfæus, *Gronlandia antiqua* 1706, tab. ii.; *Meddelelser om Grönl.* IX. 1889, pp. 7, 40-41; *Aarb. f. nord. Oldkyndighed og Hist.* 1887, p. 320; F. W. Lucas, *The Voyages of the Zeno*, 1898, p. 142; F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists* II. 1911, p. 7.

² AM. 772a, 4to.

³ P. Thoroddsen, *Landfrss. ísl.* I. p. 202-04; Jón Halldórsson, *Skólameistarar í Skálholti*, etc. 1916-18, p. 83.

here somewhat reduced;¹ it is a mere sketch which besides Greenland includes Iceland, the Scandinavian countries, the British Isles, the mythical Frisland, and part of the American continent. Iceland is situated between lat. ca. 63° – 66° $40'$ and has that angular form familiar from the Mercator map. The shape of Greenland is doubtless based upon the Zeno map which again goes back to Claudius Clavus and his sources,² but extends here farther south (ca. 60°) than in Zeno (ca. 68° $50'$), and its south end is much broader here, being indented by two large fjords, forming three peninsulas on which were supposed to be situated the Eastern and Western Settlements (*Eystribyggð* and *Vestribyggð*), the easternmost of the two fjords being Eiríksfjord, and Herjólfssnes, the point of the peninsula east of it. The author says that the whole east coast is entirely uninhabited, and he marks there three high snow-covered mountains, the northernmost of which he calls Hvítserkur (B) opposite Snæfellsjökull in Iceland (A). In accordance with Gemma Frisius (and Olaus Magnus) he places a rock (K) in the ocean between Greenland and Iceland, but does not believe in the existence of the nautical sign they say is there. He refutes Mercator and Magini³ who, following the Zeno story, had presented the northeast extension of Greenland as inhabited; this, he declares, is an absolutely uninhabitable desert. North Greenland is separated from Europe (Bjarmaland) by a narrow sound, as in Sig. Stefánsson's map. The west coast of Greenland, he says, was uninhabited by the ancients and unknown to them, and the interior of the country all filled by high snowclad mountains. On the south, Greenland is separated from America by a sound which the ancients called Ginnungagap.⁴ The name of this part of America he calls, following Magini, Estoteland, and thinks that it may be Vínland. East of Ginnungagap is a big abyss (L) which

¹ It was first publ. in Toræus, *Grönlandia antiqua* 1706, tab. i., and later in *Meddelelser om Grönland* IX. 1886, and *Geografisk Tidsskrift* VIII. 1886.

² Björnbo and Petersen, *Fyenboen Claudius Clausøn, Swart*, etc. 1904; F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists* II. p. 250 ff.; Björnbo, *Cartograph. grönl.* p. 89 ff., xi.

³ Bp. Guðbrandur writes Paginus, but I can not find any geographer or cartographer by that name. He evidently had in mind the Italian geographer Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555–1617), editor and commentator of Ptolemy's geography: *Geographiæ universalis tum veteris tum novæ absolutiss. opus*, etc. Col. Agr. 1597. I have not seen this edition, but have consulted the Italian translation by Cernoti, of Venice 1598, and the bishop's references are visibly to that work.

⁴ Cf. *Arkiv för nord. filol.* VI. 1889, p. 340 ff.; Nansen, *In Northern Mists* II. p. 239 f.

according to the belief of the ancients caused the tides, 'although we are otherwise informed by the moderns,' he adds.¹ Frisland, which is half the size of Iceland, he has taken from Mercator and Magini, but he surmises that it is the same as *Nýja land* which in Icelandic annals is said to have been discovered in the latter half of the fourteenth century.² But most interesting is the old route from Iceland to Greenland which is marked on the map (*antiqua navigatio ex isl. grönl. versus*). From Snæfellsnes it goes southwest at some distance from the east coast of Greenland until it curves around Herjólfssnes into Eiríksfjörður, and thus comes near being correct. In going from Bergen, in Norway, to Greenland, he says, the course should be taken towards west, thereupon slightly turning to northwest until Herjólfssnes is reached.

Unfortunately Bishop Guðbrandur's map did not become generally known in its original form. Resen made a copy of it which is still found in the same volume as the original, and in this copy he made various changes. The rock (K) between Iceland and Greenland he identified with Gunnbjarnarsker, the southernmost mountain (D) on the east coast he called *Högeland* and *Hvarf*, and on the west side of Herjólfssnes he added *Sand*. And then he tampered with the route; he made a dotted line straight from Snæfellsjökull (A) to Hvítserkur (B) and called this *vetus navigatio* while the route indicated on the original map he styled *nova navigatio*. What exactly he meant by this is not quite clear, unless it was that the first route was the one Erik the Red followed on his earliest voyage to Greenland while the second was that followed after the colonisation of the country.³ With these changes Bishop Þórður copied the map, and after his copy the engraving was made which is found in Torfæus' *Grönlandia antiqua*, where, however, the middle mountain (C) is identified with Hvarf.

In the meantime Bishop Guðbrandur's map had been made use of and tested. From the instructions given by King Christian IV to James Hall for his expedition in 1607, it would seem that Bishop Guðbrandur's view of the location of the Eastern Settle-

¹ Cf. *Tímarit h. isl. Bókmenntafél.* XXV. 1904, p. 89 ff.; Nansen, *op. cit.* II. p. 240 f.

² Cf. *Norwegian Hist. Tidsskr.* 2. R. VI. 1887, p. 263-64.

³ K. V. J. Steenstrup seems to explain the change in similar way, *Meddel. om Grönl.* IX. p. 43.

ment had been accepted.¹ The expedition, however, brought no results, as neither the east nor the south coasts could be reached because of ice. Thereafter the Danish efforts for re-discovering the colonies relaxed and in the following decades it was especially the Dutch who explored the shores of Greenland in their attempts to find a Northwest passage after their failure to discover a Northeast one. But about the middle of the century a further test of Bishop Guðbrandur's map was made. On his two expeditions to Greenland in 1652 and 1653, David Danell apparently used the map, because there still exists a copy of it in the Copenhagen Royal Library (Gl. kgl. Saml. 2880, 4to) on which is marked the course of Danell's expeditions.² On the first of these Danell reached as far as 73° north of Iceland and thus found out that Greenland did not in this region extend as far south and east as the map indicated, but he was unable to land either on the east or the south coasts of Greenland. This is probably the last time that Bishop Guðbrandur's map played any part in the search for the colonies, because now other maps were made which were looked upon as more reliable.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century Jón Guðmundsson made a cartographic representation of the North, but I have treated his works in another place where the map is also reproduced,³ and need not dwell upon it here. In one respect, however, it seems to have influenced Bishop Thórður as will be pointed out below.

It is quite possible that Bishop Thórður's writings on and maps of Greenland were an outgrowth of his studies in the history and geography of his native land. Yet I have a suspicion that they have some connection with plans for renewed attempts to find the old colonies. He got hold of Danell's journals and has copied from them; from the make-up of the manuscript Gl. kgl. Saml. 997 fol. one would guess that it was intended for royalty or leaders of the state. Anyway no sooner had Christian V

¹ *Meddel. om Grönl.* IX. pp. 40-42.

² It is printed in Jón Eiríksson's edition of Chr. Lund's *Udlog af Indberetning*, etc. Kjöbenhavn 1787.—In Gl. kgl. Saml. 2880, 4to, there is another colored copy of Bp. Guðbrandur's map upon which are marked about fourteen expeditions or routes to Greenland from earliest times down to date.

³ See Jón Guðmundsson and his *Natural History of Iceland*, in *Islandica* XV. 1924. The map was first published after Bp. Thórður's copy in Torfæus, *Grönl. antiq.* 1706, tab. iii., reproduced in Nansen, *In Northern Mists* II. p. 34.



BISHOP THÓRÐUR'S SMALL MAP OF GREENLAND AND THE NORTHERN REGIONS, 1668

ascended the throne than he sent Captain Otto Axelsen on an expedition to Greenland which brought no results, and from the second in the following year the captain never returned. Thórður's studies in the subject are not very deep or comprehensive, in his writings he followed chiefly Björn of Skarðsá's treatise, and his maps were modelled upon Dutch maps, but they are nevertheless noteworthy because they happened to play for a long time to come a considerable part in the efforts to locate the colonies.

In the volumes on Greenland which have been mentioned above are included five maps, that is, copies of the maps by Sig. Stefánsson, Bp. Guðbrandur, and Jón Guðmundsson, a map representing a copy of a portion of a map from Doncker's Atlas of 1666, with corrections by Bishop Thórður, and finally Bishop Thórður's own map of Greenland and the Northern regions. The same maps in the two volumes vary considerably in details but their general character remains the same in both. Of Bishop Thórður's own maps, one (Gl. kgl. Saml. 2881, 4to) has the title: *Grönlandiæ situs et delineatio per Theodorum Thorlacii* 1668 (210 × 124 mm.; it is reproduced here slightly reduced); the other (Gl. kgl. Saml. 997, fol.): *Theodori Thorlacii Grönlandiæ delineatio* Ao. 1669 (225 × 140 mm.). As to Greenland they are virtually identical, there are some fewer names on the second, and the shape of Iceland is slightly different, and on the whole better on the second. The windrose on the second is directly south of Iceland, and the varying scale near the upper left corner is somewhat different. Torfæus has reproduced the first in his *Gronlandia antiqua* (1706), by no means, however, following the original closely. He has left out the cartouche, and transferred it to his own map; it does not represent an original idea of Thórður's, it is more or less a borrowing from Dutch maps, which often have an Eskimo with arrows, kayak, and the like.

After his visit to Iceland in 1625,¹ Joris Carolus, the Dutch pilot and cartographer, made a map of the northeastern part of America, Greenland, and Iceland.² He knew a Dutch version of Ívar Bárðarson's (Iver Bere's) treatise on Greenland and from it, with probably additional information obtained in

¹ See *Islandica* XV. p. 29 f.

² Printed in Björnbo and Petersen, *Anecdota cartographica septentrionalia* 1908, pp. 12-13, facs. xi.

Iceland, he inserted many of the place names of the Icelandic colonies in Greenland on the east coast of that country. Thus the fateful error was committed which was the cause of so many futile and disastrous efforts to reach that coast, upon which it was taken for granted that the Eastern Settlement was situated. In Carolus' map of 1634 the same names appeared,¹ and henceforth on all Dutch maps of this region. Some of these maps, principally as it seems Doncker's map of 1666, were used by Bishop Thórður, and upon them he based his maps of Greenland. He added new names, which were unknown to his Dutch models, and placed the whole on a systematic basis in accordance with the Icelandic sources available to him. He added Svalbarð² according to Icelandic tradition, Hafsbóttnar (or Tröllabottnar), the mountain Bláserkur on the same latitude as Snæfellsjökull, and Hvarf on nearly that of Reykjanes, in conformity with old sailing directions. The fjords he placed in the order he found them enumerated in his sources. Following the Dutch maps he put two islands at the south end of Greenland, although he did not find anything about them in Icelandic writings, but he surmised that they might be the two islands which Leifr Eiríksson saw southwest of Greenland, when he returned from his discovery of Vínland.³ But he deviated from the Dutch maps when he gave the name Frobisher Strait to the sound between the northernmost island and the mainland of Greenland, the Dutch always using that name, because of a misunderstanding, for the sound between the two islands.⁴ The Western Settlement is here placed on the west coast immediately north of the Frobisher Strait, and as shown on the large map which we shall treat of presently, the fjords of that settlement open upon Frobisher Strait. Frisland he has included because it was still found in general maps, although the Dutch maps did not give it; they had instead the Island of Bus, which may or may not be identical with *Spanske Eyland* that figures in this and other Icelandic

¹ Björnbo and Petersen, *op. cit.* pp. 31-32.

² For the latest contribution on this disputed place see, G. Holm's article in the most recent volume of *Meddel. om Grönland*. (1926).

³ This probably is an excrescence of the tale about the skerry from which Leifr saved the crew as told in the *Grœnlendinga þáttur*.

⁴ Steenstrup (*Meddel. om Grœnl.* IX. p. 20) suggests that Thórður may have drawn after La Peyrère's map in his *Relation du Groenland* (Paris 1647), but there the sound is called Platea Sti. Martini.—As to the origin of misplacing thus Frobisher Strait, see *Ymer*, 1886, pp. 84-88.



maps; but evidently some doubt was entertained about the existence of Frisland by our author as well as by Bishop Guðbrandur before him. The rest of the map needs no further comment; it may, however, be mentioned that the author was not able to draw the proper conclusions from Danell's first voyage, hence he made Greenland extend too far towards the northeast, somewhat as in Bishop Guðbrandur's map. Here the Dutch maps usually had an indistinct line indicating the ice barrier.

On the same principles, but much more elaborate and artistic, is Bishop Thórður's large map of the Northern regions which now is found in the archives of the Hydrographic Office (Søkort-arkivet) in Copenhagen. It measures 660 × 370 mm., and is reproduced here in a reduced form; it is dedicated to Henrik Bjelke, then governor-general of Iceland and a great friend of the author and his family. It is much richer in names, and has legends in Latin corresponding in part to the explanations which accompanied the other maps. Some names from Bp. Guðbrandur's map are inserted, as Ginnungagap. There is a wind-rose with loxodromes, and a scale given for the various degrees of latitude. But the most noticeable addition consists of the names in Norway in their ancient, or Old Norse, form, and also a list giving their modern equivalents. This, I believe, is the first map of Norway which has the names according to the old geography of the country, but they are not always correct. In all probability this map was made later than the others. Iceland appears here in the shape it has on the large map of 1670, and probably the two maps are of the same year. The author has managed to include a great number of names, and one finds here two, which were not shown on his two smaller maps of the North, viz. *Ægirsey* and *Ægirsland*, northeast of Iceland. These have probably been inserted because they were found on Jón Guðmundsson's map and because there was a persistent rumor about their existence.¹ I have in another place dealt with them, and tried to explain their origin as being traceable to the discovery of Jan Mayen and Spitzbergen.²

Presuming, as we may, that the map first belonged to Bjelke,

¹ Thus Árni Magnússon writes early in the eighteenth century (AM. 213, 8vo, f. 337): 'Fram undan Langanese á Íslande seigia sumer að skule vera 2. stórar eyar skoge vaxnar, 14 danskar mílur á leingd; þikiast Íslensker þar um hafa aðskilianlegra skipmanna relations. verius nugas, si extiterint.'

² See *Islandica* XV. pp. 31-33.

to whom it was dedicated,¹ it later passed into the possession of the king, where it was in 1728 when Árni Magnússon was asked to pass judgment upon it,² doubtless in connection with preparations for Major Paar's expedition to Greenland the same year. Árni's opinion is not very favorable, as it was clear to him that the map of Greenland was more or less a guess work except the west coast which was laid according to Dutch maps. However, he did not question the propriety of placing the Eastern Settlement on the east coast, of this he was himself convinced, he only doubted the accuracy of details in the map, since no one had visited the country for about three hundred years. Thus it had come about that Carolus, his Dutch successors, Bishop Thórður, and Torfæus³ had thoroughly convinced the world that the largest of two old Icelandic settlements in Greenland was to be sought on the inaccessible east coast. This prevailed until H. P. von Eggers, after studying the map of the southwestern part of Greenland (Julianehaabs District) by Aron Arctander, made in 1779, and finding that this agreed surprisingly well with the old descriptions of the Eastern Settlement, wrote an essay on the subject which received the prize of the Royal Agricultural Society and was published in their transactions in 1793; in this he maintained that the colonies were to be sought on the west coast.⁴ This met with some opposition, but W. A. Graah's expedition in 1828-31 practically proved the truth of it,⁵ although it was reserved for later explorers to establish this beyond all doubt, and to excavate the ruins of the extinct colony. The last writer to defend the old theory was, however, no less an authority than Baron Nordenskiöld.⁶

But it is regrettable that these misleading maps by Bishop Thórður should become so well known and play such a part in history, while his good, original map of Iceland remained neglected and without influence upon cartography.

¹ A description of the map is found in AM. 774b, 4to.—The map has been reproduced before in an incomplete form in *Meddel. om Grønland*. IX. and in *Geograf. Tidsskrift* VIII.

² To be found in AM. 771a, 4to, and printed here in full in the appendix.

³ In his *Grønlandia antiqua* Hafniæ 1706. 8°.

⁴ H. P. von Eggers, *Priisskrift om Grønlands sande Beliggenhed*. Kiøbenhavn 1793. 8°. Sep. repr. from *Det Kongelige Landhuusholdnings-Selskabs Skrifter*, vol. IV.

⁵ W. A. Graah, *Undersøgelses-Reise til Østkysten af Grønland 1828-31*. Kiøbenhavn 1832. 4°.

⁶ See his *Den andra Dicksonska expeditionen till Grönland 1883*. Stockholm 1885, pp. 4, 15, 382, 401-02.

APPENDIX

I. Explanations of the Ortelius Map (1595)

A. *Piscis Nahual*, huius carnem si quis comedat, statim moritur; habetque dentem in anteriori capitis parte prominentem ad septem cubitos. Hunc quidam pro monocerotis cornu vendiderunt. Creditur venenis aduersari. Quadraginta ulnarum longitudinem habet belua. B. *Roider*, centum triginta ulnarum est, caret dentibus. Eius caro esui accommodatissima gratissimaque. Eius pinguedo multis morbis medetur. C. *Burhualur*, caput habet toto corpore maius. Dentes habet multos et firmos, inde fiunt laterunculi. Est sexaginta cubitorum. D. Hyena, siue porcus marinus monstrosus, de quo legendum apud Olaum, lib. 21. E. *Ziphius*, monstrum marine horribile, phocam nigram deglutiens. F. *Cœtus Britannicus*, longitudine triginta ulnarum, dentibus caret, linguam habet septem ulnarum. G. *Hroshualur*, quasi dicas equus marinus, iubatus in morem equorum, nocet piscatoribus. H. Maximum cetorum genus, quod raro apparet, insulæ magis quam pisci simile. Insequi minores pisces præ corporis immani illa mole nequit, capit tamen illos, sua quadam arte et astutia. I. *Shautuhualur*, tota cartilaginea, raia aliquo modo similis, sed infinitis modis maior. Insulæ speciem cum apparet, præ se fert, alis naues euertit. K. *Seenaut*, boues marini, colore griseo, egrediuntur aliquando mari, et vicino in littore pascuntur, numero simul plures, naso folliculus adhæret, cuius beneficio in aquis vivunt; hoc rupto, aliis bobus se coniungunt. L. *Steipeidur*, cetorum mansuetissimus, pugnat contra alios cetos pro piscatoribus. Legibus publicis cautum est, ne quis huic noceat. Longitudinem habet centum cubitorum. M. *Staukul*, Germanicè *Springhual*, integro die visus est stare erectus ex cauda; nomen habet à saltando. Nauculis mirum in modum inimicus, humanas carnes plurimum appetit. N. *Rostunger*, qui et rosmarus dicitur, vitulo marino similis, graditur in maris profundo pedibus quatuor, sed brevissimis; pellis eius vix ullis ictibus perforanda. Ex duobus dentibus dormiens pendet è scopulis duodecim horis. Singuli dentes ulnæ unius longitudinem, totum corpus quatuordecim excedit. O. *Sperma cetaceum*, sive ambra vulgaris, *Hualambur* vulgò vocant. P. Ligna hæc ex Noruegiæ rupibus ventorum vi radicibus auulsa, post longas iactationes, et diurnas ac immanes tempestates, huc confluunt. Q. Ingens et infinita glaciei moles ex mari congelato huc aduoluta, boatum et stridorem edens, partes huius sæpè ad cubitos quadraginta exsurgunt; his ursi albi insident, piscium captandorum gratia.

II. Explanations of Bp. Guðbrandur's Map of the Northern Regions (1606)

A. *Snæfells Iökull* vesten paa Island. Mons conspicuæ altitudinis, semper tervis obductus nivibus. B. *Hvidserck*, paa Grönland, similis mons altissimus nive et glacie æterna rigidissimus. C. Alter mons Gronlandiæ nivosisissimus nec minoris altitudinis, versus Africum distans a Hvidserck itinere 14. dierum. D. Tertius mons lateris orientalis Gronlandiæ, et proximus sinui Eiriksfiord.

Dette fiæld skæll mand hæffue rett i Nord, før end mand kand komme ind j Grønlandsfiærd som kaldis Eiriksfiærd. **EEE.** Latus Orientale Gronlandiæ inhabitatum, habens sinus plurimos et promontoria, itemqve glaciem magnâ copiâ litus illud spatioso excursu cingentem, qvæ non nisi ab Africo et Lybonoto in Mare hyperboreum extenditur; aliâs continuè adhærescens; cujus pertæsi nautæ semel atque iterum iter Gronlandicum frustra tentarunt. Fuit autem Norvegis olim navigatio in Gronlandiam, ex oppido Bergensi primum versus Occidentem, mox cursu versus eorum nonnihil flexo, usque dum promontorium Gronlandiæ Herjulsnes assequuti fuerint. **F.** Sinus Gronlandiæ maximus Ericzfiærd ab inventore Islando sic dictus ut patet ex ipsa narratione. **G.** Alter Gronlandiæ sinus sine nomine, nisi qvi dicebatur Vesturbygd, Occidentalis habitatio. **H.** Latus Gronlandiæ Occidentale inhabitatum et incognitum veteribus. **I.** Fretum inter Gronlandiæ oram extremam austrum versus et aliam continentem, qvam recentiones Americam v[ocant], per qvud fretum olim Grønlandi excurvantes Vinlandiam invenerunt, qvam Eñstotelandiam Pagini forte qvis recte existimaverit; ipsum hoc fretum, veteribus Ginnungagap, q[vasi] amplas fauces dixeris. Existimamus autem ex Eñstotelandia (si hæc Vijnlandia est) versus Aqvilonem in Gronlandiam recta perveniri. **K.** Qvud Gemma Frisius habet, de qvadrato nautico, inter Gronlandiam et Islandiam extructo, fabulam sapit. **L.** Vorago, qvam veteres constituerunt causam fluxus et refluxus maris, qvamvis a recentioribus aliter edocti sumus. **M.** Frislandia Mercatoris et Pagini, vulgo Nya Land (Nova terra) versus austrum et lybonotum, ab Islandia, sita putaturque esse dimidio minor Islandia. **NNN.** Per hoc ingens continentis latus Mercator et Paginus varia loca describunt et oppida collocant; qvæ illorum pace dixerim vana et ficta esse; cum vastiss[imus] ille tractus plane sit inhabitabilis, utpote Polo Boreo subjectus. **O.** Mare hyperboreum.

Legend on the map (the interior of Greenland): Omnia hæc montana circumquaque altissimis et horrendis montibus sempiternis nivibus obducta esse scribuntur.

III. Explanation of Bp. Thórður's Small Map of Greenland, etc., 1668

Forklaring ofver dende min tafle. **AAA.** Dendne pard vdæf Grønland bleff kaldet i gammel dage *Grønlands obigder*, det er det platz af landet som icke kunde bebyggisz formedelst is och snæ. Men strandsiden bleff kaldet *Sualbarde*, det er dend Kolde Side, aff den ofuerflödige jis som der altid ligger baade sommer och vinter. **B.** *Hafsbonderne* det kand udtydes paa danske Endemaal paa Hæffuet, det er altid fult af dend store driffuende jis, hvor fra dend kommer oft drifuendisz til Iszland. **CCC.** Paa disse platzer hæfuer Grønlænderne i gammel dage hæfft deris meste fiskeri, men alleeniste om Sommeren, imod høsten hæffuer de reist hiemb i gien. **D. E.** Om disse to øer hæfuer ieg icke noget synderligt lest vdj voris antiqvitätær, vden det som der staar i Leifer Eriksons reise, naar hand opsökte Vinland och hand seilede hiem igien til Grønland, da saa hand to øer i sydvest fra Grønland; disse øer hæfuer ieg baade delineret och situert effter de visseste siökorter, som ieg hæfe kundet bekomme. **F. G. H. I.** Paa dendne gandske vesterside boede de vilde folk i Grønland som blef kaldede *Skrælinger*; de lefuer alleeneste af fiskeri, eder raa,

och tilbeder solen. I. Anno 1636 kom her i dende fiord Kongel. Maytz. af Danmark skib, dend Røde Løve, huilcket förde med sig tilbage igien til Danmark, nogle sølfminer for uden hvalfisk tenner, selskin och diureskin. G. Christiansfiord. H. Coningshamfiord. Paa disse to fiorde kom Kong Christian IV skiber Ao. 1506[!] paa huilcke vare Captainer Godske Lindenow och Johan Coningsham. K. Mange tuiffler nu om dette land at det skal vere til. Hr. Gudbrand kalder det *Vipaland* [!] i sin Grönlands delineation, men hvor udaf hand det hafuer ved ieg icke.

Udi denne min *mappa geographica*, som staaar paa dend anden side, er det först at merke, at *gradus latitudinis* ere der ulige store formedelst dend aarsag at *longitudinis gradus* ere lige, saa vel ofuen til som neden til, paa det mand kunde diss bedre giore *lineas nauticas* eller compas stregerne, eller[s] skulde *gradus longitudinis* vere større neden til end ofuen til, fordj jo nermer en *parallelus aequatoris* er ved *polum* io smalere hans grader bliffuer, och io nermer hand er *aquatoris* io større graderne bliffuer, der for maatte ieg her sette *scalum milliarium quadruplicem*, och kand huer en brugiss paa tre grader, ti saa liden platz kand icke forursage stor ulighed.

Huiss ellers *delineationen* angaar, da hafuer jeg der udj efterfølget vore islandske *antiquiteter*, det bedste jeg hafuer kundet, besynderlig, synden paa landet der som de christne folk boede, dertil med hafuer ieg *consulered* de andres *mappas* och det allene udi min sat som jeg vidste at kunde komme offuer ens med voris *antiquiteter*. Paa vestersiden af Grönland hafuer ieg brugt de retteste och visseste siökorter, saa vel som adskillige reiser som der hen hafuer veret giorde, huorudi baade platzernis *latitudo* saa vel som landstreckningen hafuer veret flittelligen *observerit* af de som der hafuer henreist.

Poli høyde paa de fornemmeste platzer af östersiden paa landet kand mand nogenlunde *colligere* udaff coursen fra Jssland til Grönland, som for exempel: Snæfellsjökul paa Jssland ligger paa 65. grader; derfra seilede Erik dend Røde ret i vester oc kom ved dend samme cours til Blaaserk paa Grönland. Der udaf sluttiss at Blaaserk ligger under samme *parallelo* som Snæfellsjökul nemblig 65°. Item mand skal vere 12 ug[er] siös (som er 15 tyske mile) synden fra Rökenes paa Jssland, som ligger paa 64. grad. oc siden seigle ret i vest til Heriolfnes paa Grönland, da maa Heriolfnes hafue samme *latitudinem*, nemblig 63. grader ungefer. At Heriolfnes er icke dend synderste part udaf Grönland, og ligger icke under samne *parallelo* som gabet paa Eriksfiord kand saalediss *demonstreris*, at Erik dend Røde sigis at hafue seigled ett gott stycke veys fra Heriolfnes til sydvest för end hand kom til Eriksfiord, derfor maa Eriksfiord vere beder i mod synden end Heriolfnes; flere argumenter at beviser Eriksfiord at ligge synder end Heriolfnes kand sees af det 2. capit. Lengden paa Eriksfiord kand mand nogenlunde *colligere* der udaff at Erik dend Røde sagde sig at vere kommen for enden paa Eriksfiord der hand kom til Rafnsfiord, men Rafnsfiord ligger ungefer mitt i mellom Heriolfnes oc Eriksfiord; herom kand mine antegnelser ofuer det förste capit. *consuleris*. Anlangende distantzen i mellom Jssland oc Grönland, da formeldis det at vere fra Snæfellsnes til Blaaserk, to dages oc to netter seilatz, det er 48 ug[er] siös eller 60 tyske mile, efftersom de gamle holdte en dags oc nats seilatz at vere 24 ug[er] siös eller 30 mile. Dissligeste fra Langenes til Svalbarden holdte de at

vere 48 ug. siðs hvor ud af mand kand ungefer slutte huad for en *latitudinem* Sualharden haffuer, thi efter dend reining skal dend vere 4. grader norden for Langenes.

Dette er saa vit en kort underretning om min Grönlands *delineation*, huilcken enddog ieg icke vill *vendilere* for en *accurat* efftersom ieg er icke self *autoples*, och hafe icke vert paa landet, icke dess mindre mener ieg dend at vere mer *correct* end de andres som ieg hafuer endnu seet, hvor om dog andre kand bedre dömmе.

IV. Legends on Bp. Thórður's Large Map of the Northern Regions

[*Greenland from west to east:*] 1. Tali fere amictu vestiti incedunt Barbari, qvi ad occidentale hoc Grönlandiæ latus in specubus subterraneis et tentoriis ex phocarum ac ferarum pellibus confectis frequentes habitant. De origine horum non satis constat, est tamen veri haud absimile ex America eos huc transiisse, lingvam enim habent peculiarem et Solem præcipue adorare videntur. Piscatione plurimum victitant, qvam in cymbulis pelliceis exercent. Crudis etiam phocarum et ferarum carnibus vescuntur, arma illis sunt arcus et sagittæ, nec non funda et hastæ ex balenarum ossibus fabricatæ. Hujusmodi homines feros in Daniam secum attulerunt Gotschalcus Lindenovius, Nobilis Danus, et Johannes Koningham à laudatissimo Rege Christiano IV. Ao. 1605 Grönlandiam qvæsitum emissi, et post hos etiam David Denelle, qvi præter varias merces Grönlandicas fæminas duas, ante annos aliquot secum advexit.

2. In his duobus sinibus, Christiansfiord et Coninghamafiord, diutule commorabatur Regia navis Ao. 1605, cujus capitaneus erat Johannes Coningham, nobilis Scotus, Gubernator autem Jacobus Hall Anglus, qvi totam hanc navigationem accurate descripsit. Refert ille lateri huic grönlandico, perqvam montoso, insulas plurimas adjacere navium stationi aptissimas. Sinus etiam longissimos continentem ingredi, 10 et 12 milliaria Anglica excedentes, terram ipsam adeo fertilem se dreprehendisse ait, ut nisi autopsia edoctus, nunquam crediturus fuisset, regionem tam boreo climati subjectam ejusmodi qvalitatibus gaudere.

3. Anno 1636 appulit hic navis Danica Leo ruffus nuncupata qvæ præter pellas phocarum et dentes balenarum argenteam etiam mineram attulit.

4. Insulas hasce D. Arngrimus Ionas in sua Gronlandia Skrælingia Land appellare videtur, ego tamen illus potius existimarem esse insulas, qvas Leifus Erici Ruffi filius ex America rediens obvias habuisse fertur, priusqvam Grönlandiam attingeret, qva de re Arngrimi Gronlandia videri poteret.

5. Biorno Skarsaensis, qvi annales grönlandicos ante annos aliquot conscripsit, ait, suo sæculo navem Hamborgensem ad hoc Grönlandiæ latus appulisse, et sinum tandem ingentem, angustis admodum faucibus (vulgo Fiordin ollum Leingre) obviium habuisse, ubi jacta anchora, insulas aliquot ab hominibus cultas deprehenderunt, occupataqve earum una, casas piscatorias, qvalibus Islandi uti solent, viderunt nec non hominem nuper mortuum vestibus ex panno et pelle confectis indutum, apud qvem culter admodum attritus jacuit. Existimamus igitur istis in locis, aliquos hominum Christianorum etiamnum superesse reliqvias.

6. Ad hoc Litus piscationi operam dedere Veteres Grönlandi, sed æstivo tantum tempore, sub autumnum statim domum redierunt.

7. Vastissimum hunc Grönlandiæ gyrum antiqui *Trollabothe* nuncuparunt a Gigantibus, qui hic habitare existimabantur glaciei istius fluitantis quasi receptaculum est, quam ex hoc litore ad Grönlandiam meridiionalem et Islandiam venti septentrionales sæpenumero deferunt.

8. Latus hoc Grönlandiæ veteres *Sualbarda* appellabant, quæ vox latus vel marginam frigidum denotat, totus hic tractus montibus abundat editissimis perpetua nive tectis litori autem glacies continue adhæret.

[*Frisland:*] Frislandia Mercatoris et Pagini, quam D. Gudbrandus Th. Episcopus Holensis in sua Grönlandiæ delineatione, antiquitates nescio quas secutus, *Ulpaland* [!] appellat.—De hac insula in antiquitatibus nostris nihil peculiare reperio, præter id, quod Ao. 1228 Adalbrandus et Thorvaldus Helgonis filii terram novam ab Islandia occidentem versus sitam invenerint, quam postea Erikus Norv. Rex Rolphonem quendam quæsitum miserit Ao. 1288. Verum ut Frislandia veteribus olim prorsus ignota fuit, teste Mercatore, ita plurimi de ejus existentia hodie dubitant.

[*East of Frisland:*] Hanc insulam Hispani Anno 1613. obviam habuerunt.

[*Sweden and Norway:*] Vastissima hæc tesquarum et montium deserta inter Norvegiæ et Sveciæ veteres a carina navis *Kiöl* vel *Kialveg* appellabant.

[The legend in the lower right corner merely has reference to the ancient and modern Norwegian names.]

[*Above the scale:*] Propter ductum linearum nauticarum in hac mappa, æqualitatem graduum longitudinis, inæqualitate graduum latitudinis compensare necessum fuit, cum itaque gradus latitudinis versus polum hic crescant ideoque etiam milliarum hanc quam cernis, scalam milliariam apposui, ex qua cujusque paralleli valor facile cognoscitur.

V. De mappa terrarum Septentrionalium, quam possidet potentissimus Daniæ, Norvegiæ, etc. rex Fridericus Quartus et mihi monstrari curavit, 1728

Uforgribelige Tanker over nærværende Landkort.

Author til Kaartet er en Mand fra Island ved Nafn Magister Thorder Thorlaksen, som var her i Kiöbenhafn 1668. og 1669. og udjen af disse Aaringer eller begge, det haver forferdiget. Hand blef strax derpaa Biskop paa Schalholt udi Island og döde der 1696[!].

Om Kaartets Beskaffenhed falder dette efterskrefne at mælde:

Norge, Skotland, Hetland, Feröe og Island ere ret, eller noget nær ret satte paa Kaartet. Stædernes Nafne i Norge accordere til deels, hverken med de gamle eller nye Norske Nafne, men her om er vel icke fornöden at bruge nogen viitløftighed.

Frisland, som her staar paa Kortet under Vester-Længdens grad. 356. og paa Poli Höyde 60, 61, 62. er aldrig til, eller har været. At samme Friisland er indkommet i Land- eller Söe-Kaarter, forsaarsages af en Italiensk Fabel, som findes trykt, og mælder at nogle Venetianer seiglede derhen, hen ved Aar 1380. Relationen er vidløftig, men (som sagt er) opdigtet, og derfor icke verd at tracteres her med vitløftighed.

Hvad da Grönland i sig selv angaar (hvortil Landtaflen synes og fornemmelig at hensigte) saa sees icke, at der er nogen synderlig Reflexion at giöre paa den Österligste og den Nord-oste Kant deraf, som i Kaartet kaldes det u-bebygte

Grönland, og strækker sig i Kaartet fra Vester-Længdens Grad 352 til 22 ongefær, item, Norden fra at regne ongefær til 66. Grad Poli-Højde; thi alt dette Stykke Land er uden al Tvivl lagt efter bare Gissning, og uden noget Fundament, saa som det icke kan bevises, at nogen Menneske nogensinde har været paa dette Stæd. Men derimod er lett at giøre troligt, at bemelte heele District har over 900de aar været omringet med den umaadelig tykke Grönlandske eller Spitzbergiske (eller hvad Nafn nefnes skal) flydende Iis, som seer ud som Smaabierge og svöminer omkring i Nordhavet, undtagen de Stycker, som holder sig fast ved Landene.

Synder-stykket af Grönland, ongefær fra Poli Höides Grad. 66. til 60. Synder at at regne, er langt rigtigere end det forrige. Östen paa Landet boede den Colonie, som flyttede derhen kort efter Ao. 980, hvoraf man saa godt som intet veed at sige, siden Ao. 1430. eller nogle faae Aar til forn, saa som Navigationen derhen var da bleven ganske farlig formedelst oven bemelte Drif-Iis. Mand har i Jislandske Böger og Antegnelser en hoben Nafne paa Fjorder, Öer, Kirker og Platzer, som laae i dette bebygte Grönland. Men saa som ingen af vore Folk siden 1430. (ere nu snart 300 Aar) haver været der paa Stæden, saa er det let at slutte, at de Nafne som i Kaartet findes i denne Landets Österdeel og saa Wester at, fra Poli Höides grad. 64. til 62. ere efter Giettelse satte i Kaartet, ligesom Author har fundet for rimeligst. Bliver saa Kaartet saa viit denne Landets Österdeel angaar, u-efterrettligt.

Det lader sig og ansee, at denne deel af Kaartet neppeligen skal kunde rettes efter dags, saa som der troværdeligen berettes at denne Grönlands Östredeel fra Poli Höides grad. 60. ongefær öster og nord ad, er nu ganske omgivet med en continuierlig Iis-muur i Söen, uden for det heele Landet, hvilken Iis foregives at være 4. 6. 8. miile bred i mellem Söen og Landet.

Hvad Land-Strækningen anbelanger paa Vesterdeelen af Grönland, da er den langt meer at forlade sig til, end angaaende den Östre kant. Udi de Islandske Documenter finder man meget lidet om denne Kant af Landet, Aarsagen er, at den i gamle dage ikke var nær saa bebyggt som Öster-delen. Men Author har her udi fuldt de Hollandske Söe-Kaarte, som ere blefne forferdigede tid efter tid, siden Hvalfisk-fangsten begyndtes i Straat Davis.

Det allerbeste Kaart, som mig er bekiendt over denne Vester Kant af Grönland, og over Straat Davis, er for nogle Aar siden (kand ske 8 à 10 Aar) tryckt i Holland, jeg troer i Amsterdam, paa stort patent, men siges at være strax bleven supprimeret, saa som en Piece der kunde altfor meget oplyse fremmede. Kaartet haver jeg seet hos Etats Raad Rostgaard, men om det var hans eget eller icke, er mig ubevist. Uanseet at dette Kaart var (som siges) bleven supprimeret udj Holland, saa skulde jeg dog u-forgribeligen meene, at Etats-Raad Griis, som i Kongl. Majestets affaires residerer i Holland, kunde finde en Udvei til at faae oft bemelte Kaart, om hand dertil fick Kongl. Majest. ordres. Og i slig fald paa det bemelte Etats Raad Griis icke skulde tage feil i Kaartene, da staa i samme Kaart langt ind i Straat Davis, ongefær paa 70de Grad Poli höide, det Eyland Disco, som saa viit jeg mig erindrer, icke findes i de almindelige Hollandske Söe-Kaarter.

Dette er alt det som jeg for denne Gang haver eragtet nödvendigt at raisonere over nærværende Land-Kaart.

Kiöbenhavn den 3. Maji 1728.

ARNAS MAGNUSSEN.

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